"THE FRENCH BACKGROUND OF MIDDLE SCOTS LITERATURE."

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C O N T E N T S.

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I N T R O D U C T I O N.

Middle Scots, as a literary language, has much more than an historic or even a patriotic interest. It has a flavour and pungency all its own, unmistakably characteristic of those who made and used it. The literature it embodies is a very precious possession, richly repaying our study. Though mediaeval and derivative from one point of view, it is yet as native as the peat that can absorb into itself every fallen plant of whatever tint or fibre. Middle Scots is the literary tongue of mediaeval and renaissance Scotland, of the great "makaris", Henryson, Dunbar, Douglas and Lindsay, of the few early prose writers, of the controversialists of the Reformation, of Alexander Scott and of Montgomerie. It covers a comparatively brief period from the fifteenth to the early seventeenth century,(1) when Scots ceased to be a literary language, though, as a vernacular, it lived on to produce its loveliest lyrics. Before the middle of the fifteenth century, the language of Wyntoun, Barbour and James I is more correctly described as early Scots or northern English, and even Henryson

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(1) G. Gregory Smith: "Specimens of Middle Scots". (Ed. & London 1902) Introduction, p. XI.

may be considered as transitional between Early and Middle Scots.

The development of its literary language is remarkably late in the history of the country, and lags far behind the development of Scottish nationality. When, under Malcolm Canmore, Scotland was first ruled by a strong central monarchy, she was predominantly Celtic, and her language, except in the Lothians, was Gaelic. Malcolm's marriage to an English princess and his adoption of English manners, culture and institutions began that long and steady replacement of Gaelic by English which is still going on to-day, and which it would be difficult, if not impossible, to arrest. The native Gaelic was in fact "Scots", and was called so by all mediaeval writers. Even as Anglo French invaded Anglo-Saxon England, so "Inglis" invaded Celtic Scotland, but whereas in England the original language survived and enriched itself at the expense of the invader, in Scotland Gaelic and "Inglis" never fused to any extent; the original speech of the greater part of the country retreated to the hills, and the southern Teutonic became "Scots" as we know it.

By the "Golden Age" of Alexander III, Scottish nationality was firmly established, but at the expense of the Celtic element. The government of the native kings and their nobles was now Anglo-Norman in character, and the Anglo-Norman feudal institutions had brought an unusual degree of prosperity. There was peace with England. The power of the Norse invaders had been destroyed at Largs. "If any warfare made Scotland a nation,"

says Professor Rait, "it was the struggle with Norway, and the victorious issue of that struggle in 1263 might be taken, from this point of view, as the completion of the seal of the consolidation of Scotland".(1)

In this period of peace and prosperity, the like of which Scotland was not to know again until the time of James IV, we might expect that art should have taken some place in the national life. It did so, but the form it took was architecture, not literature. This is the age when David I and his successors founded monasteries and built churches and abbeys, when the great castles of Kildrummy and Bothwell were built after the style of Coucy in France. In England and on the Continent Gothic architecture was at its zenith, and in France literature worked along with it to give adequate expression to the spirit of the Middle Ages, but of literature in Scotland we have hardly a trace. "The literary culture was oral", says Andrew Lang, "there were songs, sometimes on public events, sung by girls as they danced; there were world-old Märchen told in the ingle-nook: in the Celtic region there were heroic ballads

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(1) R.S.Rait: "History of Scotland". London 1914; p.29.

chanted, proclaiming the renown of legendary heroes".....(1)
"In the Celtic region" - for the country north of the Forth was still Gaelic speaking, though English was beginning to creep in along the coast. This English was an incomer, and it is no easy task for an incomer to gather up the traditions and to become one with the native folk. There is a break in tradition and those who learn the speech of the south will be likely to learn also its manners and culture and to forget their own inheritance. This is one reason for the lateness of the development of Middle Scots literature, and also for the literary, artificial and derivative character of a large part of it.

The adopted language, "Inglis", or Scots as we shall now call it, was still in a state of change and growth, still too unformed for easy use in literature. Besides, the language of the nobles was often Norman French, and this complicated the situation still further.

Then came the War of Independence and peace and prosperity fled from Scotland for many years to come. Well might our oldest fragment of Scottish verse lament the passing of the good times of the Alexanders:

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(1) Andrew Lang: "A History of Scotland". Ed. & Lond. 1900; p.156.

"Quhen Alysandyr oure King wes dede,
That Scotland led in luïve and lé
Away wes sons off ale and brede,
Off wyne and wax, off gamyn and glé;
Oure gold wes changyd in to lede".....(1)

The War of Independence is the second great landmark in Scottish history. It consolidated Scottish nationality and established the alliance between Scotland and France which was to be constantly renewed until the Reformation. The importance of this alliance upon the life of the nation has been very much exaggerated, as Professor Gregory Smith points out,(2) but when due allowance has been made for this, the fact remains that the constant coming and going between Scotland and France brought Scotland into touch with continental culture and ideas. We must remember however that Scots students went abroad not to learn French, but to study Latin. Whether in Latin or in the vernacular, France set the fashion in the literature of the Middle Ages.

The War of Independence gave Scotland heroes worthy of her earliest poetry, and the great outburst of national enthusiasm, which followed the victory of Bruce and the establishment of the Stuart kings, produced the romance period of

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(1) Quoted by Hume Brown in "History of Scotland", v.I, p.132. It is a fragment of some old song, quoted by Wyntoun in his "Original Chronicle", Bk.VII, l.3621, ed. F.J. Amours. S.T.S. Ed. & Lond. 1914, vol.V, p.144-145.

(2) G. Gregory Smith, "Specimens of Middle Scots", Introduction pp.lv - lviii.

Scottish literature. We have also the chronicles of which Wyntoun's is in Scots verse. Rhymed chronicles were by this time rather out of date abroad, for French prose was already a well developed medium. Scots prose, however, developed very much later and never lost its rather awkward and tentative character. Wyntoun naturally wrote not in the style of Froissart but in that of the romances. Barbour's great poem - epic we might call it - "The Bruce", is half way between chronicle and romance. In spite of his notorious blunder in the Bruce family tree, Barbour has usually been accepted as a fairly reliable authority. His subject is history, but his style of treating it is romance, and romance after the French manner.

It would be a mistake to suppose that the mediaeval writers marked the distinction between history and romance as we do now. With a faith now lost to us, they accepted even the miraculous tales of Arthur and his knights as soothfast story. If an occasional sceptic sought testimony in vain, he was the exception, and much to be pitied. Things were beginning to change in France, with the rise of the prose chronicle, but Scotland was as usual behind the times in literary fashion.

Along with the "Bruce" we have the mythical adventures of Alexander, of which Barbour may be the author, and we should have the equally mythical genealogy of the Stuart kings in Barbour's lost "Stewarts' Original". Both derive

from French; the first is a direct translation, the second was an attempt to exalt the Stuarts to the rank of the famous "Nine Worthies", celebrated throughout France at this time. Bruce is compared with the heroes of the romances, and Douglas is likened to Hector of Troy. Similarly Wallace, in Harry's later poem, is compared to Gadifer. The French romances were the ever present literary background. Even the wonders recounted in the Saints' Lives, so popular at this time, were not unlike the stories of romance.

Nearly contemporary with Barbour are a number of romances written not in French rhyming octosyllables but in English alliterative verse. The alliterative "Morte Arthure" is the chief of these, and it, like most of the others, has been claimed for that shadowy literary ghost, Huchown of the Awle Ryale. It is doubtful whether Huchown and his works belong to Scotland at all; there is no doubt that these poems are written in the late alliterative tradition of the North West of England.

In Barbour's time, the great age of romance was already on the wane. Chaucer was mocking it as an outworn and ridiculous fashion. Yet the romances maintained their popularity till a much later date. In the fifteenth century we have Harry's "Wallace", a Scottish "Lancelot"; and others are later still, and we know that the French romances formed a large part of the library of Mary, Queen of Scots.(1)

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(1) See J. Sharman: "The Library of Mary Queen of Scots", London, 1889.

Scottish literature, in spite of its late development, had been just in time to catch up with the gorgeous pageantry and glorious spirit of the romances, so typical of the finest period of the Middle Ages; it was too late or simply unable to capture the lyric, which, about the same time, was the glory of the French trouvères. Middle Scots is curiously weak in pure lyrical quality. There certainly must have been songs, as the "Complaynt of Scotlande" testifies, but they were popular songs. In France the Troubadours and Trouvères transmuted the themes of native folk-song into a highly wrought, even artificial, courtly lyric, a lyric which derives a great part of its unique charm from the blending of the artistic and the popular strains. In Scotland the poets never attempted to remake the native strain with such finely developed artistry. Much of the native lyric had no doubt been lost with the rejection of the Gaelic by the most cultured classes, and their southern Scots was not yet capable of the technical artistry of French and Provençal. When the Makars wrote lyric they looked to foreign models, which in the fifteenth century were the formal ballades of Machault and his school, poems which had far less of the pure lyric quality of the earlier age. Some echoes of the trouvères are certainly found in Middle Scots, but they may easily have come by way of England; they are fragmentary and accidental. The true wealth of Scottish lyric does not belong to Middle Scots at all, but to a later age, when the poets, and especially Burns,

drew their inspiration from native folk-song.

The ideal of courtly love, which colours the literature, especially the lyric, and indeed the whole life, of mediaeval France, never took root in Scotland. Apart from the "King's Quair", we have remarkably little mediaeval love poetry. The romances, with their movement, colour and action, were far more akin to the Scottish spirit than were the sophisticated love lyrics. Love is a much more simple and natural affair to the Scottish than to the French writers. When those copy the allegorists, they dwell far more on the picturesque aspects of their themes than on the sentimental subtleties such as fill "La Belle Dame sans Merci". Perhaps the Scottish sense of humour had something to do with this. In the ballads we find a different conception of love, different again from the ballads of France. There, love is a tragic force, yet "dark, true and tender", a thing native of the north.

After the death of Barbour, a great change comes over Scottish literature. It falls for a time entirely under the influence of Chaucer. Nothing could be more natural. James I during his captivity in England was the first to feel the spell of the great English poet. He dedicates his poem to Chaucer and Gower:

"Unto the Impnis of my maisteris dere,
Gowere and chaucere, that on the steppis satt
Of rethorike, quill thai were lyvand here,
Superlatiue as poetis laureate
In moralitee and eloquence ornate,
I recommend my buk in lynis sevin,
And eke thair saulis vn-to the blisse of hevin." (1)

To Henryson he is the "worthie Chaucer glorious", (2) and the other great Makars also pay tribute to him. Dunbar says:

"O reuerend Chaucere, rose of rethoris all,
As in oure tong ane flour imperiall,
That raise in Britane ewir, quho redis rycht,
Thou beris of makaris the tryumph riall;
Thy fresch anamalit termes celicall
This mater coud illumynit haue full brycht:
Was thou nocht of owre Inglisch all the lycht,
Surmounting ewiry tong terrestriall,
Alls fer as Mayes morow dois mydnycht?" (3)

and in the following stanza he celebrates Gower and Lydgate. Douglas sees in the assembly of poets, classical and modern,

"Geffray Chauceir, as a per se sans peir." (4)

It is interesting to notice which of the aspects of Chaucer's work appealed to the Scottish writers. Principally they honoured and imitated him as the master of the new allegorical style in poetry and of its appropriate colours and ornaments of rhetoric - in fact as the poet of the Rose.

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(1) the last stanza of "The King's Quair", ed. W.W.Skeat, S.T.S. Ed. & London, 1911; p.48.

(2) S.T.S. ed. of Henryson, v.III, p.4, "Test. of Cresseid", l.41.

(3) S.T.S. ed. of Dunbar, ed. J. Small, 1893, v.II, p.10; "The Goldyn Targe", ll.253-261.

(4) Douglas, ed. J. Small, v.I, p.36, "The Palice of Honour", l.9.

The "Romaunt of the Rose" is the book which appealed most of all to James I. His "King's Quair" is a love poem, partly allegorical, built almost entirely upon it. The story of Palemon and Arcite - in some respects so like his own - was also a favourite, and we are reminded too of the"Parlement of Foules". Of the later Chaucer of the realistic Canterbury Tales, there is no trace in James I's work. In style too, James copied Chaucer very closely without attempting to improve upon him.

Henryson's appreciation is wider, though, as he is a greater poet, he is less completely under the sway of the master. He turns to the human rather than to the formal aspects of the allegorical manner. "Orpheus" and the ballads are quite in Chaucer's style, and "The Testament of Cresseid" shows a very real and true appreciation of "Troilus and Criseyde". The "Fables" spring undoubtedly from the "Nun's Priest's Tale", but at the same time they show that Henryson knew the story of Reynard the Fox as well as he knew that of "Chauntecleer".

By Dunbar's time, Chaucer's influence is beginning to wane. The sense of a close, living contact with him which we feel in Henryson's work has disappeared. He is the "Rose of rethoris all", not so much an individual, as the master of the fashionable allegorical school. Dunbar imitates him in his formal allegorical poems, but he attempts to outdo the master's "termes celicall", and so to bring his style up to date according to contemporary French fashion. In "The Tua Mariit

Wemen and the Wedo" he uses some hints from the Wife of Bath for a very different kind of painting.

To Gavin Douglas, Chaucer is a master of rhetoric, a classic in fact, and a quarry for allegorical matter. But he is not the only source.Douglas had a very thorough knowledge of the whole of the allegorical school of which Chaucer was, to the Scottish poets, the chief representative, and he turned to France for much of his material just as Chaucer had done before him.

The great period of the Makars, and of the influence of Chaucer, Gower and Lydgate, coincides with a time of peace with England, the first definite peace for over a hundred and seventy years. The reign of James IV might indeed be called, like that of Alexander III, a golden age for Scotland. The central government of the Crown was strong enough and vigorous enough to maintain and administer justice throughout the country, even in the Isles which the King often visited. It was strong enough moreover to make Scotland's influence felt abroad. Throughout Europe this is a period of transition from the Middle Ages to the Renaissance, and Scotland shared in the changes and development of the times. Europe was now divided into clearly defined nationalities, and foreign policy as we know it to-day was becoming a very important part of the politics of each nation. Scotland was not one of the great powers of Europe, but in the policy of her stronger neighbours she was a valuable ally, considered strong enough to turn the

scale for or against the preponderance of England. Spain, France, England and the Papal Court of Rome were all eager to gain her alliance and to use it for their own ends. That James realised his opportunities is shown by his attempts to build up a powerful Scottish navy.

Trade, like politics, was becoming international, and Scotland was in constant commercial relations with France, Flanders, Burgundy and Denmark. All this must have done much to widen the general outlook of the people. The standard of living had been greatly improved as we learn from the well known testimony of Pedro d'Ayala, the Spanish envoy, who expressly refers the improvement to Scotland's increased intercourse with foreigners:

> "I am told that Scotland has improved so much during his reign (the reign of James IV) that it is worth three times more now than formerly, on account of foreigners having come to the country and having taught them how to live..... There is as great a difference between the Scotland of old time and the Scotland of to-day as there is between bad and good". (1)

Progress was by no means confined to material prosperity. Peace and leisure gave cultural opportunities. The University of Aberdeen, the third in the kingdom, was founded in 1495 at the special request of the King, and in the year following, the famous education act was passed, that:

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(1) Quoted in G. Gregory Smith's "The Days of James IV", Lond. 1890, p.61.

> "All barons and freeholders that are of substance put their eldest sons and heirs to the schools from the time they be eight or nine years of age; and to remain at the grammar schools till they be competently founded and have perfect Latin; and thereafter to remain three years at the schools of Art and Law that they may have knowledge and understanding of the laws, through the which justice may reign universally through all the realm...." (1)

The wide-spread knowledge of Latin enabled Scottish scholars like Boece and Major to be thoroughly at home in the learning of the Continent and in any European University. Latin was still the universal language of science and philosophy and to write in Latin was more natural to Scottish scholars than to write in Scots prose.

The cause of education was further advanced by the increase of printed books. French, as well as English and Latin, books were common in Scotland. Some Scottish writings were published in France, but, in 1507, Chapman and Millar, with the encouragement of the King, set up their famous printing press in Edinburgh.

This King, perhaps the most brilliant of a brilliant line, makes a fitting centre for the picture. Pedro d'Ayala,(2) from whose description we know him best, had fallen under the influence of his vivid personality. James IV seems to epitomise the character and varied interests of his time. He spoke eight

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(1) Quoted in G.Gregory Smith's "The Days of James IV".Lond.1890, p. 35.

(2) ibid pp.54-57. From a letter from d'Ayala, the Spanish Ambassador, to Ferdinand and Isabella,1498.

languages, including Gaelic, is said to have been well read in devotional literature and history, though perhaps not really deeply cultured;[1] he was a good musician; he took a great interest in alchemy, medicine and in the nascent science of the time. He encouraged the education of his people, and, to some extent at least, he was the patron of artists, writers and scholars, though Dunbar makes it clear that his patronage was not always generous. He was very religious and yet a lusty sinner, typical in this of the Middle Ages, even more than of the Renaissance. He tried to enter into the calculated intrigues of the rulers of Europe, but his decision to join France against England in 1314 was as much that of a mediaeval knight as of a Renaissance politician. The appeal of the French Queen turned the scale, and James and his army went to Flodden. That they never returned was principally due to another decision of over generous chivalry. Scotland's brief season of prosperity ended with the end of a mediaeval ideal.

To understand the full significance of many of the tones of mediaeval Scottish literature, and in fact to appreciate

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(1) See W. Mackay Mackenzie's introduction pp.xvi - xviii to his edition of Dunbar. (Ed.1932). He quotes Hector Boece, who says that James was "without literary culture", and points out that "James' court,... with all its bustle and glitter, was not a forcing house of literary merit".

its own characteristic flavour, a knowledge of its English background is not enough. The influence of the "Auld Alliance" can easily be exaggerated, but it was real nevertheless. Scotland's intercourse with France, Flanders and Burgundy enabled Scottish literature to take its place as an offshoot, not of English literature only, but of the whole complex civilization of mediaeval Europe. Scottish authors learned from France, as well as from Chaucer, how to make use of the Latin classics; and through translations of the French fables they may even have drawn upon the stories of the East.

Nor is this French background composed only of contemporary writers. The poets of the fourteenth as well as of the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries should be included in it. We can even find traces of still earlier fashions, of the "pastourelle" in Henryson's "Robene and Makyne",(1) of the "chanson de la mal mariée" and of the "tenson" in Dunbar.(2)

It is seldom possible to point to direct borrowings unless the Scottish poet is simply translating his original. In the Middle Ages literary themes and forms were the common property of Europe to a greater extent than they have been since. Nationalities were not completely developed, the Church was then really catholic, and the general use of Latin

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(1) See pp. 90 ff

(2) See pp. 85 ff. & 104 ff

helped intercourse between scholars. A great many mediaeval poets were employed as ambassadors and envoys, and in this way they gained first-hand knowledge of foreign courts at a time when the courts of kings and nobles were the chief centres of literature. In Latin, French, English and Scots, the mediaeval literary themes grow and branch in a tangled mass of roots and suckers, until one often cannot tell which may be the parent plant. All over Europe we find the great characteristic themes, painted, carved, woven or sung: the delight in spring with its lark and its hawthorn; the sweetness of the river meadow; the poet hiding in the hedge to overhear a lover's confidences, or to meet in a dream every conceivable personage from Achitophel to Venus; the worship of the earthly beloved, the rose in Cupid's garden; the equally ardent adoration of the "rosa sine spina", the sacred love; the delight in worldly magnificence, whether in the chronicles of real tournaments, banquets and pageants, or in the shadowy processions of the dream allegories; the annihilation of all that pomp in the Dance of Death; the refinement of the courtly poems of chivalry; the bestial coarseness of some of the fables - surely the heights and depths of the human spirit were never revealed so clearly side by side as in those strange, bewildering, fascinating centuries that we call the Middle Ages.

France was the source of nearly all these things, both ideas and outward fashions, and in France they attained their

fullest expression. In Italy the Renaissance came so soon that mediaeval culture had far less time to ripen, but in mediaeval France the fifteenth century marks the end of an old and rich culture, rather than the rise of a new. The great cathedrals, with their glory of soaring arch and flying buttress, had reached their greatest height; stone and glass could rise no further. The statues of kings and saints had been perfected in their stiff architectural dignity, while the diabolic gargoyles grinned at them in the weirdest shapes conceived by the human imagination. A thousand stories had been woven in tapestry and illustrated with the exquisite work of the miniaturists.

Social history, as well as art, shows a developed, characteristic culture which is most clearly seen in France. Some of the greatest mediaeval types and figures appeared there. Some have been immortalised by Froissart, and a great company are chronicled by lesser men. Feudalism itself grew and flourished best in France, and moulded every form of mediaeval life.

In literature too, France set the fashion, and the fashion at the end of the Middle Ages was that of allegory. The immense success of the "Roman de la Rose" (13th century) had secured the popularity of this kind of poetry, but the genre was even then by no means new. The germs of it can be traced to the Latin classics, to Ovid and Claudian, and to the early

Christian writers, for example St. Paul. Writers in mediaeval Latin and in the French vernacular developed the idea of symbols and personified abstractions, chiefly in connection with Venus, Cupid and their dwellings, whether the gorgeous palaces of the classical writers or the blossoming groves of the spring song of the "Pervigilium Veneris" and the early lyrics. The "Roman de la Rose" used this literary convention to embody every aspect of the courtly love code. It placed the whole poem in the form of a dream, which became the invariable setting for all this school of poetry.

Chaucer's translation introduced the first part of the "Roman de la Rose" to England and Scotland, and his early poems clearly represent the style of the fourteenth century writers, who all copied de Lorris, and of Froissart, Machault and Deschamps. The allegories of these poets are chiefly amorous, and often, like the earlier lyrics, they set forth a love story in which the poet assumes the chief part. The narrative element is not as yet smothered by the descriptive, and there is some attempt,as, for instance, in Froissart's "Paradys d'Amour", at dramatic situation. The convention when Chaucer knew and used it, was still fresh and often charming. We find that freshness and charm in James I's "King's Quair".

In the fifteenth century a change comes over the allegory, a change which we can clearly connect with the history and changing spirit of the time. The freshness wanes, rough winds of satire shrivel the blooms, and Garden of the Rose

is no longer inviolate.

The end of the fourteenth century and the beginning of the fifteenth was the terrible period of the Hundred Years' War, when France, like Scotland, nearly a century before, suffered at the hands of England the horrors of foreign invasion, coupled with the civil feuds and treachery of her own great nobles. The wars with England, and the insurgence of the noble houses, often makes the history of Scotland and France seem very much alike. However, the Scottish War of Independence and the French Hundred Years' War belong to different periods. After the death of Bruce Scotland was still for a long time thoroughly feudal and mediaeval with a weak central government and powerful nobility; in France the reign of Louis XI succeeded the period of the war, and marked the virtual end of the feudal régime. In Scotland the victory of Bruce, the national hero, produced a strongly romantic and enthusiastic wave of national feeling, exemplified in Barbour; in France the fifteenth century is a time of weariness and disillusion. Realism is struggling to assert itself, but literature is not yet ready to accept it. The old conventions survive but, like the fashionable pastoral themes, they are an artificial form of escape from reality. Wit takes the place of imagination. Poetry becomes didactic and at last ceases to be poetry at all.

Long before, in the second part of the "Roman de la Rose", (late 13th century) satire and didacticism had invaded the

allegorical style, but they had not become typical of it, and the dominant tone remained amorous and courtly. In the fifteenth century even the poets found it well-nigh impossible to take these courtly conventions seriously. Alain Chartier, who wrote during the war, used them in the old way in his "Livre des Quatre Dames" which follows the lines of the courtly débat. In his most popular work, the "Belle Dame sans Merci", there is much more than mere convention. Here he attempts to analyse the mental outlook of the lover and his lady in a way typically French and never attempted by the Scottish writers. Courtly love, when the enthusiasm is over, is becoming either a puzzle or an affectation. In his famous "Quadrilogue Invectif", Alain uses allegorical figures for a patriotic, political subject. The piece was imitated in Scotland.(1) It marks the beginning of the fifteenth century political and didactic fashion in allegory.

After this, the allegorical style becomes more and more didactic and loses its spontaneity. Dunbar's two allegories, in spite of their affectation, remind us of Chaucer and the French fourteenth century, but Gavin Douglas belongs in spirit to the fifteenth and must have known the whole of its literature very well. No doubt he read King René's "Le Livre de Cuer d'Amour esprins"(2) - a love story with a didactic element.

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(1) See Chapter VII

(2) " " V, pp.213-5

He wrote a similar poem but without the romantic colour and with a much more marked moral. No doubt he read "La Dance aux Aveugles"[1] where love is described as one of the mad follies of a blind humanity; he may have read some of the innumerable works upon the character of Woman (in the abstract) but those would not interest him very much. He was certainly familiar with the Grands Rhétoriqueurs whose style he imitated, and he knew the long didactic works of St. Gelais and probably those of Jean Lemaire. He enjoyed their profusion, their learning, their classical allusions and their ornate style. He did not catch the weary disillusioned spirit of the French fifteenth century, so clear in St. Gelais. Literature in Scotland was still new and something of an adventure, besides, Chaucer was still its hero. Douglas's imitation of French was superficial. He borrowed some of the picturesque elements and adopted the didactic rambling style, but in his own manner.

Lyric underwent changes similar to those in the allegories. In the fourteenth century the lyric of the trouvères with its great variety of stanzas and its close connection with music, had been superseded by the formal ballade and rondeau. Deschamps laid down the rules for these in his "Art de Dictier", the first of many books on rhetoric which became so popular and so necessary in the fifteenth century. Owing to the

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(1) By P.Michault. Published with other 15th century poems at Lille, 1748.

formal moulds which were now universal, lyric began to lose its true character. At the same time it was invaded by every possible subject. Many of Deschamps' ballades are satiric or political, and this was the type of lyric poetry which the Scottish poets imitated. Curiously enough they never wrote the correct type of French ballade complete with its envoy. Dunbar liked to experiment with a variety of stanzas in his own way, but his subjects and tone are very like those of comtemporary France, and he has little purely lyrical feeling. In the fifteenth century in France, the Rhétoriqueurs elaborated the ballade in every possible way until it became simply an exercise in ingenuity. Dunbar enjoyed this juggling with rhymes and was probably influenced by contemporary French fashion, though he made no attempt, except in his use of internal rhymes, to reproduce the actual patterns of the Rhétoriqueurs. Alexander Scott, Montgomerie and the Sempills did attempt to do so.

We have already noticed how Middle Scots was poor in lyric. The influence of the Rhétoriqueurs did nothing to remedy this. Dunbar's most lyrical notes come, not from the native songs of his own country, nor from his literary foreign models, but from the Latin hymns and from the songs of the Goliards. Like Villon, Dunbar was a true Goliard and both

he and Lindsay were satirists.

Satire of many types invades every form of literature in the fifteenth century. The parodying of religious services was an old but a favourite kind. There are innumerable examples of it in France and it was popular also in Scotland. It belongs to the Goliardic tradition and Dunbar made good use of it. Here he is thoroughly at home and his rich pungent humour and brilliant handling of rhythm and rhyme show to their best advantage in his "Dregy". Another parody of the same sort which could not have been written in any language but Middle Scots is Sir John Rowll's Cursing. The mock testaments, immortalised by Villon and practised by a great many fifteenth century poets, are of the same family. Both Dunbar and Lindsay made use of them.

Social satire was immensely popular and took many forms. The depravity of Woman was a favourite theme and is typical of the fabliaux. The fabliaux, though many are far earlier, seem characteristic of the time of Louis XI, and the "Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles" used to be wrongly attributed to no less an author.(1) Much of Dunbar's work is quite in the spirit of the satirical fabliaux, and we have one really fine Scottish fable, "The Freiris of Berwik", which is a free adaptation of

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(1) Scott makes this attribution in "Quentin Durward", in a note close to the end of Chapter X, Ed. 1879, p.262.

a French story and used to be attributed, no doubt wrongly, to Dunbar. "The Thre Prestis of Peblis", "The Sevyne Segis", "Colkelbies Sow" and "The Talis of the Fyve Bestes" all belong to the fable literature[1] and there are traces of it in a few of the Scottish ballads.[2] There was, no doubt, far more which has not survived. Many of the stories written down in France may have been diffused orally in Scotland.

Social satire of a more humdrum kind, like so many of the verses of the worthy Maitland, followed the same course and belaboured the same abuses both in France and Scotland. So did religious controversy; but there is no need to look for any literary connection, and such writings can hardly be called literature.

Drama was by this time taking an important place in France as a vehicle for social and political criticism. Pierre Gringore is the chief figure, and Lindsay's "Satyre of the Thrie Estaitis" seems to be modelled chiefly upon him.[3] Our only Middle Scots drama is entirely satirical.

In many of his writings, Lindsay followed the French fashions of his time, but, unlike the Rhétoriqueurs, he had little interest in literary form for its own sake. His real interests were political or social. The brief period of peace was over and the country was once more plunged into intermittent war with England and disturbances at home. The

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(1) See Ch.IV. (2) See pp.163-164. (3) See Ch.VI. p.223,ff.

storm of the Reformation was gathering and Lindsay was drawn into the whirlpool. In thought and purpose he belongs to the Reformers, and to the new age, though in literary form he is entirely mediaeval.

The Auld Alliance was giving way and was soon to be broken by the Reformation. Middle Scots was nearing its end. Alexander Scott and Montgomerie still used it, and even imitated the old French Rhétoriqueurs as well as the new Renaissance poetry of the Pléiade, but Drummond, entirely in sympathy with the new style, wrote in English. The Sempills still wrote Scots, but they hardly deserve a place in literature. The prose writers had at last appeared, and those of them who translated French works, or who took the Roman Catholic side in the religious controversies, clung to their Scottish speech, but the adoption of the English translation of the Bible did more than anything to prevent the further development of Scottish prose. James VI wrote in Scots, but when the Court went to London its protégés wrote in English, and Scotland sorely missed the old centre of culture. In the early seventeenth century, in fact we might say at the Union of the Crowns, Middle Scots literature came to an end.(1)

In spite of its imitative character, our mediaeval

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(1) See T.F. Henderson in "Scottish Vernacular Literature" (London 1898) p.299 on the successive phases of Scots literature.

literature has distinct characteristics of its own. Professor G. Gregory Smith describes in a most illuminating way the two moods of Scottish literature,(1) its realism and intimacy, and its wild, fey, often humorous imagination. Both these moods appear clearly in Middle Scots and are particularly characteristic of Dunbar. Even when the poets are borrowing their materials from foreign literatures they generally preserve their own characteristic tone. If naturalism is a Scottish trait, we can find it in Henryson's pastourelle; "Robene and Makyne" has far more actuality than its French prototypes. We can find it also in his "Testament of Cresseid", so different, in its relentlessly realistic logic, from Chaucer's mellow humanity. We find it again in Dunbar's "Tua Mariit Wemen and the Wedo", in Douglas's descriptive prologues to his Aeneid, in the interludes of Lindsay's "Thrie Estaitis". If we seek for humorous imagination run riot, we can point to it in Henryson's "Sum Practysis of Medecyne",in Dunbar's "Kynd Kittok", or "Dance of the Sevin Deidly Sinnis"; in the Flytings or in the "Droichis Part of the Play" - The ballads are full of it, but in a finer, more serious form.- None of these things could be written in any language but Middle Scots. Scottish humour is not French wit, nor is it English humour. Scottish colouring is as different from English

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(1) G.G.Smith ("Scottish Literature, Character and Influence". London 1919, chapter I, "Two Moods".

and from French as are the flaming scarlet and pale gold of an October glen, radiant in rowan and birch, from the mellow richness of a southern beech wood. In fact, although Scotland imitated English literature, and went to France for many fashions, much material and a certain amount of literary form, there was very little foreign influence on the spirit. That remained Scotland's own.

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C H A P T E R I.

THE ROMANCES.

When, in the fourteenth century, Scottish literature at last made its appearance, it was moved by the wave of patriotism which acclaimed the success of the War of Independence. Great deeds filled men's minds, and it was natural that Barbour's greatest work should seek to tell the glory of his country's heroes in the form of a French romance.

We are accustomed to think of Barbour as our earliest poet, but he must certainly have had predecessors whose work is now lost to us.[1] We can only guess at what that work must have been, popular songs, gestes of heroes, chronicles perhaps, and already, no doubt, translations of the great French romances that filled men's imaginations and fired the ambition of every cultured nobleman. How high these tales may have ranked as literature, we do not know. The work of the English romance writers provided Barbour with models in practically his own language, but the richer literature of France gave him even

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(1) See R.L. Graeme Ritchie's introduction to "The Buik of Alexander", S.T.S. Ed. & London, 1925, pp.cii-civ: "The works of Barbour's predecessors must have perished with the only receptacles in which they could have been stored - the churches, the religious houses, the castles of the nobility, the town houses of the wealthy burgesses". "Wyntoun tells us(VIII (c) 2300,) that in his day (c.1420) there existed "gret gestis" about Wallace". Note 8 on p.cii. There was apparently another poem on Bruce, now lost and of unknown date, by a monk of Melrose, Peter Fenton. (p.civ)

recorded as having been chosen to attend a meeting to discuss the treaty. He was evidently a person worthy of trust, and a scholar. Other records tell us that he went twice to Oxford to study (1357 and 1364) and twice to St. Denis (1365 and 1368) where he must have seen the famous relics celebrated in the story of "Fierabras". Meanwhile David had been ransomed, had returned home, had ruled and been succeeded by Robert Stuart, who was a generous patron to Barbour. In 1395 the poet died, and, apart from his works, we know nothing more of his life.

Barbour's writings have been the subject of much controversy. The most generous canon would credit him with "The Troy Book",(1) "The Buik of Alexander",(2) "The Ballet of the

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(1) Ritchie (Introduction p.cxc-cxci) assigns the Troy-Buik to Barbour and points out that, though the source is Guido delle Colonne's Latin "Historia Trojana", Barbour may have used a French version of it. (Note II to p.cxc.) G. Neilson argues for Barbour's authorship in "John Barbour, Poet and Tramslator", London 1900, p.2; and C. Horstmann also assigns it to him in "Barbour's... Legendensammlung, nebst den Fregmenten seines Trojanerkrieges", Heilbronn 1881-82. J. E. Wells ("A Manual of the Writings in Middle English", London and Oxford 1916) says the Scottish Troy fragments are by a different Barbour, p.203. W. M. Mackenzie supports Barbour's authorship, "The Bruce", appendix E, p.505.

(2) See also Ritchie's introduction, passim; G. Neilson's "John Barbour, Poet and Translator" passim and particularly chapter 5. J.E. Wells on the contrary says, without giving his reasons, "The efforts to ascribe the piece to Barbour are not acceptable", p.106, "A Manual of the Writings in Middle English".

Nine Nobles"[1], "The Bruce"[2], "The Stewarts' Original"[3], now lost, and parts of the Scottish Legends of the Saints.[4] "The Troy Book" need not concern us, as its sources are not French but Latin;[5] "The Buik of Alexander", on the other hand, is a direct translation of two French romances, and whether Barbour wrote it or not, it takes an important place in Scottish

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(1) Ritchie op.cit. p.ccvi. Ed. by Craigie in Anglia vol.XXI (N.F.IX) p.359, Halle 1898-99, and by Ritchie, Introduction to "Buik of Alexander", pp.cxxxiv - cl.

(2) ed. by W.W.Skeat for the S.T.S. Ed. & Lond. 1894. Even the Bruce has not been left unassailed, but has been attacked as a fifteenth century redaction of Barbour's original, written by a very questionably authentic poet, the scribe, John Ramsay. See J.T.T.Brown - "The Wallace and Bruce Restudied" (Bonn 1900) pp.90-100. "The Poems of David Rate, Confessor of King James I of Scotland" in "The Scottish Antiquary", vol.XI no.44, Edinburgh, April 1897, and vol.XII no.45, July 1897; also the correspondence between him and G. Neilson in the Athaeneum, Nov.1900 and Feb.1901. The whole case is clearly stated by Ritchie op.cit. pp.lxviii-lxxiii. The whole of Ritchie's Introduction to "The Buik of Alexander" bears on this question.

(3) See Ritchie op.cit. p.ccxiii. Ritchie and F.J.Amours (the editor of Wyntoun, in his introduction to the S.T.S. ed. of Wyntoun, vol.I, p.lxxvi, 1914) say that the "Stewarts' Original" and the "Brut" also mentioned by Wyntoun (S.T.S. ed. bk.III, l.621) are the same work. J.E.Wells ("Manual of the Writings in Middle English", p.203) says they were separate poems.

(4) See Ritchie op.cit, p.ccxviii. "The Legends of the Saints" are the most doubtful of all the works attributed to Barbour. W. Mackay Mackenzie inclines to accept the attribution to him of at least "St. Ninian" and "St.Machar"; E.J.Wells will have none of it, (op,cit. pp.203 and 304).

(5) See G.Neilson: "John Barbour, Poet and Translator" London, 1900, p.2.

literature.

Alexander is the chief hero of the romantic Cycle of Antiquity. Like Arthur, he is transformed into a mediaeval king surrounded by his feudal court of knights and ladies. His apocryphal story was told from birth to death in the immense French metrical romance, "Le Roman d'Alixandre" by Lambert le Tort and Alexandre de Bernay.(1) The romance consists of four branches, the first dealing with Alexander's youth, the second with his wars against Darius including the episode of the "Fuerres de Gadres" which is really a separate poem by an unknown Eustache, incorporated in the romance itself by Lambert le Tort. The Third Branch also contains a later interpolated romance, the famous "Voeux du Paon" by Jacques de Longuyon written about 1310. The fourth branch recounts the death of Alexander.

Our Scottish "Buik of Alexander" is a fairly close translation of two episodes only from the enormous romance. These episodes are the "Fuerres de Gadres" and the "Voeux du Paon". The "Voeux du Paon" was evidently translated first, with a short original prologue and epilogue by the Scottish author, and the "Fuerres" - "Foray of Gaza" was then added to make the story more complete.(2)

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(1) For an account of the whole romance, see L.Petit de Julleville "Histoire de la Langue et de la Littérature française des origines à 1900," Paris 1896 - 99, vol.I, pp.229-242.

(2) Ritchie, op.cit, p.li.

The "Voeux du Paon" enjoyed an immense popularity. It tells how Alexander and his chivalry made an expedition against the wicked Clarus, of the vows they made to accomplish various deeds of knightly prowess, and how these vows were fulfilled at the great battle of Epheson. The battle and the knightly deeds belong to the usual stock in trade of the romance writers, but the account of the formal vows made upon a bird and the passage on the Nine Worthies, three Pagans, three Jews and three Christians, which was original, assured the success of Longuyon's work.(1)

The practice of vowing - a thinly disguised form of the boasting so popular in epic times - was not confined to romance.(2) Edward I vowed on two swans in 1306 to subdue Scotland; Edward II and his knights twice vowed on the peacock to conquer Bruce (1306 and 1307). Edward III and Robert d'Artois are said to have made vows on the heron in 1338. Philip the Good of Burgundy and his whole court vowed upon the peacock in 1454 to go on a crusade and accomplish deeds comparable to those of Alexander. The gorgeous pageantry of the feast at the Palais de Rihour where this ceremony took place, is described by the chronicler Olivier de la

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(1) Ritchie op.cit. Ch.II, Ss.7,8 & 9.

(2) " " " " S.9; and G. Neilson "Huchown of the Awle Ryale", Glasgow 1902, ch.IX, S.4. Ritchie p.XXXIX.

Marche,[1] but nothing came of the ceremony, which was in fact little more than a romantic pageant. Vows are a common feature of French romance and appear in the "Vengeance d'Alexandre", "Gaydon", "Les Voeux du Héron", "Les Voeux de l'Epervier", "Hugues Capet", and "Alexandre le Grand", and "Histoire des trois nobles fils de Rois", as well as in the "Voeux du Paon".[2] They also appear in "Clariodus".[3] David himself is one of the King's sons in the French romance of the "Trois nobles fils de Rois"[4] and his great friend Edward III whom he admired and imitated was the hero of the romance "Les Voeux du Héron".[5] These considerations certainly support Barbour's claim to be the author of the poem, considering his connection with David's court, but even if the colophon date of the Buik of Alexander is correct, and if it was written in 1438, the continued popularity of the

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(1) H. Stein "Étude biographique, littéraire et bibliographique sur Olivier de la Marche" in Académie Royal de Belgique, Brussels 1888, p.11. Also G. Doutrepont: "La Littérature française à la Cour des Ducs de Bourgogne" Paris 1909, pp.111-117. The feast is vividly described by O. Cartellieri in "The Court of Burgundy" translated by M. Letts (London 1929) pp.139 ff.

(2) G.Doutrepont, ibid. Ritchie "Buik of Alexander",xliii, note 9.

(3) See pages 64-66.

(4) ~~ibid~~. Ritchie, "Buik of Alexander", xliii, note 9.

(5) ibid, Ch.III, S.11 and Ch.XI, S.43.

"vows" theme, and the fact that Alexander was always a favourite hero in Scotland,[1] might explain a Scottish author's choice of subject. The "Foray" was naturally chosen as the introduction to the Vows, and its accounts of the sieges of Tyre and Gaza, with their military technicalities, would be sure to find favour with the nobility. The translation of the "Fuerres", says Ritchie, is freer than that of the Voeux.[2] The translator is at his best in the battle scenes.[3]

The fame of the Nine Worthies is not confined in Scottish literature to the "Buik of Alexander". It was a theme as popular throughout western Europe as the Vows. Jacques de Longuyon's list of heroes was constantly copied, and lists of heroines were even drawn up to accompany it.[4] If Barbour wrote "The Buik of Alexander" he used a subject in

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(1) "Wyntoun (c.1420) remarks (Bk IV,1262) that Alexander's deeds are contained in so many other books that he need not descant on them in his Chronicle". - Ritchie, "Buik of Alexander", p.xlix, note 2.

(2) Ritchie, ibid, p.li.

(3) " " p.lviii.

(4) " " p.xl, note 6, and introduction to "The Parliament of the Three Ages" ed. Sir I. Gollancz, Oxford 1915. In "Le Miroir aux Dames" (Le Miroir aux Dames poème inédit du XVième siècle, publié avec une introduction par A. Piaget, Neuchatel 1908) pp.8-9, Philippe Bouton gives an enumeration of "good women" including the "Neuf Preuses - prinses sur l'Ancien Testament"; they are, surprisingly enough, Panthesilée, Sémiramis, Thamaris, Delbora, Esther, Judith, Hélène (mother of Constantine) Gertrudis, Queen of Saisoigne, and Clotilde, wife of Clovis.

"The Ballet of the Nine Nobles" (if he wrote that) which he had already translated from de Longuyon, and used it in order to exalt Robert the Bruce to the fellowship of the Noble Nine: (1)

"Robert ye brois throu hard feichyng
Wyt few venkust ye mytchy kyng
Off Ingland edward twyse in fyt
At occupit his realme but ryt
At sumtyme wes set so hard.
At hat not sax till hym toward.
Ȝe gude meñ yat yir ballet e redis
Deme quha dochtyast was in dedis". (2)

Barbour apparently made use again of the Nine Worthies in order to exalt the Stuart line in his lost poem "The Stewarts' Original", for Bower points out that he had "in defiance of all chronology, sent a Sir Alan Stewart on the Crusade with Godefroi de Bouillon", who, of course, was one of the Nine. "By this, he intended to bring the Stewarts close to the magic circle of the Nine Worthies, as the Bruce himself had already been successfully brought". (3)

We meet the Nine Worthies again in the Bruce (Bk.I,ll.521--560) (4), at least those of them who were slain by treason.

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(1) Ritchie, op,cit, p.clii, & ibid, p.xli, note 8. "Those who have figured as the Tenth include Pierre de Lusignan, Bayard, Du Guesclin, Francis I, Henry IV of England, Henry VI and Henry VII, Guy of Warwick and.... Robert the Bruce".

(2) See Ritchie, "Buik of Alexander", p.cl.

(3) " " " " " p.ccxviii.

(4) ed by W.W.Skeat for the S.T.S. Ed & Lond. 1894, Vol.I,p22.

This passage is imitated in "Blind Harry"s" Schir William Wallace"[1]:

"Through cowatice, gnd Ector tuk the ded;
For cowatice thar can be no ramed.
Throuch cowatice gud Alexander was lost;
And Julius als, for all his reiff and bost.
Throuch cowatice deit Arthour off Bretane.
For cowatice thar deit mony ane.
For cowatice the traytor Ganzelon
The Flour off France he put till confusion.
For cowatice thai poysound gud Godfra
In Autioche, as the autor will sa.
For cowatice, Menteth, apon fals wys,
Betraysyt Wallace, at was his gossop twys".(2)

Here we see again the old method of the romance writers, using the heroes of the famous cycles to lend lustre to their own subjects.

The Nine Worthies appear again in Rolland's "Court of Venus"[3]; their order is confused. In this case they may have been borrowed from an English source.[4]

We must now return to Barbour and see how far his unquestioned work "The Bruce" borrows from French romance. This

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(1) "Schir William Wallace" ed. J.Moir, S.T.S. Ed. & Lond.1889.

(2) ibid, bk.I, ll.837-848.

(3) "The Court of Venus" by John Rolland, ed. W. Gregor, S.T.S. Ed. & London, 1884, Bk.II, ll. 200-290.

(4) Another reference to the Nine Worthies is in the Alliterative "Morte Arthure" (see pp.50-53,)ll.3409-3440. This may be a direct borrowing from the "Voeux du Paon". See G. Neilson "Huchown of the Awle Ryale" (Glasgow 1902) chap.IX, S.4, p.47,— in Arthur's vision of the wheel of Fortune. Interesting examples of the wide spread popularity of the Nine Worthies both in literature and in art, are given by R.S.Loomis in "Verses on the Nine Worthies" Modern Philology, Aug.1917, p.19 (211) Chicago.

subject has been so ably and fully dealt with by Professor Ritchie[1] that we can do no more than summarise his conclusions. His argument is that Barbour began his career, like Chaucer, by translating from French, that he translated "The Buik of Alexander" from the "Voeux du Paon" and the "Fuerres de Gadres", about the time of his second visit to St. Denis in 1368;[2] that he wrote the "Ballet of the Nine Nobles" before 1375,[3] making use of a theme he had found in "Les Voeux" and using it to exalt the king whom he was to make the hero of his original work. Then, stirred by the dangers and stress of David's dealings with the "Auld Enemy" he wrote "The Bruce"[4] and made use in it of many ideas, descriptions, lines and phrases which he had already used in "The Buik of Alexander". In adopting this theory, Ritchie follows G. Neilson.[5] Neilson's opponent, J.T.T. Brown, would explain the likenesses between "The Buik" and "The Bruce" as fifteenth century interpolations added to Barbour's work.[6]

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(1) In the Introduction to "The Buik of Alexander", S.T.S. 1925, chapter XII; c.f. W. Mackay Mackenzie's Introduction to "The Bruce", 1909.

(2) ibid, p.ccv.
(3) " p.ccvi.
(4) " p.ccv.

(5) " Chap. IV, s.16; G. Neilson "John Barbour, Poet and Translator", London 1900, etc.

(6) Ritchie op.cit, chap IV, S.17; J.T.T. Brown: "The Wallace and Bruce Restudied" (Bonn 1900) pp.90-100; correspondence between Brown and Neilson in The Athaeneum Nov.1900 and Feb.1901; J.T.T.Brown "The Poems of David Rate", etc., Scottish Antiquary vol XI, no.44, Ed. April 1897, and vol XII, no 45, July 1897.

J.E. Wells, without stating his reasons, holds that Barbour wrote all "The Bruce" but not "The Buik".(1) We are not competent to judge the matter, but Ritchie's theory seems to us much the most probable and enlightening. No valid arguments have been brought against it.

Whatever the solution of this knotty problem may be, it is clear that our epic is written not like Wyntoun's chronicle, against a background of Latin, but in the manner of a romance against a background of French chivalry. Nor is this all; the Roman d'Alixandre is used quite definitely as a model. The description of the Battle of Bannockburn is closely modelled on the Battle of Epheson, the siege of Berwick is copied from the siegs of Tyre; the character of Edward Bruce, of whom Barbour had little real knowledge, is worked up after the pattern of Hector, Emenidus and Gadifer, and the whole poem finishes abruptly just like the "Voeux du Paon". Many of the speeches, including Bruce's address to his troops before Bannockburn - the original of "Scots Wha Hae" - are copied from those of Alexander and his knights. Borrowings of descriptive detail are very plentiful.(2)

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(1) J.E.Wells - "A Manual of the Writings in Middle English", p. 203 and p.106. "Brown's idea of a late redaction of the Bruce has won little if any acceptance", p.203.

(2) Ritchie's Introduction to "The Buik of Alexander", chap.XII, "Influence of The Buik on The Bruce".

As Ritchie says:

> "Stripping the 'Bruce' for the moment of all that has been, and of all that might ever be suspected of coming from "The Buik of Alexander", we are still left with what is in form and technique a French metrical Romance, imbued with the spirit of the Old French Epic, marked by a singularly free use of French terms,..... subtly pervaded by French idiom and French syntax, quoting French, and containing comparisons drawn from French history and works of French literature..... in brief, a poem manifestly composed by an archdeacon steeped in French Romance". (1)

The story of Alexander was not, of course, the only one known to Barbour. He had been twice to St. Denis where the Crown of Thorns and the Nail were venerated as the holiest of relics, and where no doubt he heard the Romance of "Fierabras" that recounted how Charlemagne had brought them home. (2) Barbour speaks of this story in a way that makes it clear to us that it must have made a deep impression on his imagination. While King Robert and his captains are waiting for their troops to

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(1) Ritchie's Introduction to "The Buik of Alexander", p.clxvii.

(2) " " " " " " p.cxciv.
Barbour seems to have known the French, not the English version, best. See the note on p.cxcv. See J.T.T.Brown on the Ferumbras references, in "The Wallace and the Bruce Restudied", pp.113-117. (Bonn 1900). (See also p.101 on the persons from "The Buik of Alexander" mentioned - with their French names similarly spelled - in "The Bruce".)
W. Mackay Mackenzie deals thoroughly with the question of the original of the "Ferumbras" passage, and after demolishing the arguments of J.T.T.Brown, concludes that Barbour was using a "version of the romance different, in certain particulars, from any we now possess". - Appendix F to "The Bruce", pp.508-510 (London 1909).

cross Loch Lomond:

"The king, the quhilis, meryly
Red to thaim, that war him by,
Romanys off worthi Ferumbrace,
That worthily our-cummyn was
Throw the rycht douchty Olywer...
The gud king, apon this maner,
Comfort [yt] thaim that war him ner;
And maid thaim gamyn [and] solace,
Till that his folk all passyt was". (1)

It is the difficulty and danger of the situation and of the the King's enterprise that gives such a romantic glamour to the episode. The passage is typical of "The Bruce" and of its hero-worshipping age.(2)

Another French story, to which Barbour refers, is "Ferrand". Edward I fell ill at Burgh-on-sand during his march against Scotland, and in spite of his belief that according to a prophecy he should not die until he should reach the holy "burgh" Jerusalem, he realised, like Henry IV,(3) that he had been deceived and that death was near. Some say, writes Barbour, that he had a fiend to answer him, and as an example of the folly of trusting to such treacherous prophecies, he tells the story of the Earl Ferrand's mother,

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(1) "The Bruce" ed. W.W.Skeat, S.T.S. Ed & Lond, 1894, Bk.III, ll.435-466.

(2) In connection with the Charlemagne Cycle, there is a note to Bk I, l.205, mentioning a possible reference to the Chanson de Roland, but this seems rather far-fetched and is not of much significance.

(3) See "Henry IV," part II, Act IV, end of scene IV.

"The erll Ferrandis moder was
Ane nygramansour and Sathanas
Scho rasit, and him askit syne,
Quat suld worth of the fichtyne
Btuix the Franch kyng and hir sone..." (1)

Satan, of course, deceived the lady. Barbour apparently took this story from a Latin, not a French, version, the"Historia Sancti Dionysi" by Guillaume le Breton (twelfth century) a document preserved at St. Denis, where, as we have seen, Barbour had studied.(2)

There must have been some Scottish romance written about this Ferrand, for in the "Complaynt of Scotlande's" list of old stories he is mentioned as "Ferrand, erl of Flanderis that mareit the deuyl".(3) This account of him probably came from Guillaume Guiart's "Branche des Royaux Lignages"(1306).(4)

J.T.T. Brown, writing in support of his theory that "The Bruce," as we know it, is a fifteenth century redaction of the original, tries to prove that it includes borrowings from Froissart.(5) This would not be possible if the whole theory

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(1) "The Bruce" bk IV, l.241.

(2) Ritchie's Introduction to The Buik of Alexander, p.clxx,note 8.

(3) "Complaynt of Scotlande" ed. J.Murray, ch.X,p.84, E.E.T.S.,Lond. 1872, Extra Ser. 17-18.

(4) Ritchie op.cit, p.clxiii, note 15.

(5) Letter to the Athaeneum, Nov.24th,1900, p.684. Also in "The Wallace and the Bruce Restudied" (Bonn 1900) pp.127-155. W. Mackay Mackenzie has effectively disposed of these "borrowings" and points out that Froissart's story differs in several respects from that of "The Bruce". See Appendix F, p.511.

is incorrect, but Brown goes on to point out other borrowings from Froissart which are quite authentic. "It is not uninteresting to observe", he says, "how two of the earliest sixteenth century Scottish historians use Froissart, not "The Bruce" as their source." Major's account of the 1327 invasion comes from the French chronicle; in lib.VI, ch.III he cites his source:-

> "And in this part of my history more credence will be given to Froissart.... I do not mean, nevertheless to reproduce all that he has said, but will try rather to give the semblance of his narrative as I have done in similar cases".

Again, in the "Buik of the Chronicles of Scotland" (Record Pub. vol.III, p.432) Stewart cites a book written by one "Maister Johne Frosard...Quhais sentence is nocht for to impugn... Quhairfoir I traist weill his relatioun Be verrie trew". Brown also thinks that the "writ" mentioned in the "Buik of the Howlat" (1) "indicates Froissart's work, for Holland shows independent knowledge of the French chronicle at more than one point in his poem".

We have already mentioned Barbour's lost work, "The Stewarts' Original", with its connection with the Nine Worthies of French romance; the remaining work which has been sometimes assigned to him is the "Legends of the Saints".(2) The theory of Barbour's authorship is very inconclusive and is rejected by the latest

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(1) ed. by F.J.Amours in "Scottish Alliterative Poems", S.T.S. Ed. & London, 1897, "Howlat", l.507.
(2) ed. by W.M. Metcalfe, S.T.S. Ed. & London, 1896, and by C. Horstmann in "Barbour's...Legendensammlung, nebst den Fragmenten seines Trojanerkrieges", Heilbronn 1881-82.

authority.[1] Whoever its authors may have been, it is probable that the Saints' Lives make considerable use of French sources. The ultimate source of most of the legends is the "Legenda Aurea", but in many cases their immediate sources have not been identified, and are very probably French. Ritchie takes this view, and points out a quotation from the "Roman de la Rose" at the beginning of the whole collection.[2] It is quite possible that the Lives owe something to secular romance as well as to sacred French or Anglo-Norman literature. In the recounting of wonders and heroism there was no clear distinction between the styles of sacred and profane narratives.[3] The analogy of the English Saints' Lives, three quarters of which are translated from French, points to much French influence. It would be an enormous task, and quite beyond the scope of the present study, to

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(1) The Saints Lives were first attributed to Barbour by H. Bradshaw; this was adopted by Professor Horstmann, rejected by Dr. Buss, and demolished by Skeat. It was discussed afresh by Metcalfe - See G. Neilson (who adopts the theory) in the Athaeneum, Feb.1897. W.M.Mackenzie thinks that Barbour may have contributed to them (Bruce p.xx) and Ritchie inclines to the belief that he took at least some small part in the work. op.cit. p.ccxviii. J.E.Wells says, "The suggestion that Barbour composed the Scottish Legendary is unproved", and again"The ascription to Barbour is now given up". - See"Manual of the Writings in Middle English"(Lond & Ox. 1916) pp. 203 and 304. He dates the Legendary from the end of the 14th century.

(2) Ritchie, op.cit. note 20 on p.ccxix.

(3) "Saints Lives Written in Anglo-French" by A.T.Baker in vol.IV of the"Transactions of the Royal Soc. of Lit. of the United Kingdom"1924, passim, and J.Vising "Anglo -Norman Language and Literature" London 1923, part II, S.2 and part III, S.2.

discover what exact relation exists between the Scottish and the French Saints' Lives. The mass of material in French is immense, and much of it is still unprinted.(1)

The other great authentic figure of early Scottish literature, Andrew of Wyntoun, did not, like Barbour, make use of French romance. His "Original Chronicle"(2) follows Latin sources as he himself tells us:

> "Part of the Bibill, with that at Peris
> Comestor ekit in his ȝeris,
> And Orosius and Frer Mertyne
> With Scottis and Ingliss storyis syne". (3)

Wyntoun had a great admiration for Barbour, who probably inspired him to write his chronicle, and whose "Bruce" he quotes at length.(4) It has been suggested that the "Brute" which Wyntoun used as an authority may have been Barbour's lost work, the "Stewarts' Original".(5) Whether or not this is the case, Wyntoun's

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(1) See "Histoire Littéraire de la France" by the Bénédictines, etc., Paris, 1906, vol.XXXIII, pp.154 and 329.

(2) "The Original Chronicle of Andrew of Wyntoun" ed. F.J.Amours, S.T.S.,Ed. & Lond.1914. His chronicle was written about 1406. See Introduction, S.3, p.xxxiii.

(3) Wyntoun's prologue, bk,I, ll.157-160.

(4) Amours' Introduction to Wyntoun, pp.lxxv-lxxviii. See also Ritchie's Introduction to the"Buik of Alexander", chap.VII and chap.VIII, S.27 and 28.

(5) Amours' Introduction to Wyntoun, pp.lxxv and lxxvi.

admiration for Barbour did not lead him into the field of French romance which lies behind "The Bruce".

Along with Barbour and Wyntoun, whose actual existence, although some of their works may be disputed, no one doubts, stands the shadowy figure of "Huchown of the Awle Ryale" of whom Wyntoun says:

> "He made the gret gest of Arthure,
> And the Awntyr off Gawane,
> The Pistyll als off Swete Swsane". (1)

This is all we know of Huchown, but it is doubtful whether any three lines in literary history have given rise to so much conjecture as have these three lines from Wyntoun's Chronicle. The "Pistyl of Susan", which Wyntoun mentions, has been identified with the alliterative piece edited by Amours in "Scottish Alliterative Poems",(2) and this attribution has generally been accepted as at least quite probable, though not actually proved.(3) Susan comes straignt from the Latin Apocrypha(4) and contains

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(1) Wyntoun's Original Chronicle, ll.4323-4326. See Amours' "Scottish Alliterative Poems", Introd. p.lii, and Ch.VI.

(2) F.J.Amours: "Scottish Alliterative Poems", S.T.S. Ed. & London 1897. This volume contains "The Knightly Tale of Golagros and Gawane", "The Buke of the Howlat", "Rauf Coilzear", "The Awntyrs of Arthure" and "The Pistill of Susan".

(3) Even Professor G. Saintsbury says:" It is not impossible that he may have written some of the poems in question, especially the extant Pistyl of Susan, which is at least as old as 1380. There is no evidence that he wrote this or any other".- "A Short History of English Literature", Lond, 1922, note 1 to page 102.

(4) See Amours' introd, Ch.V, S.3, to "Susan" in Scottish Alliterative Poems". J.E.Wells in "Manual of the Writings in Middle English" says: "Wyntoun is the only reliable authority on Huchown. Huchown may have written "Susan" but there is no good evidence for his authorship of anything else. It is unlikely that he was Sir Hugh of Eglinton",pp.399-400.

no romance elements; the other poems which have been assigned to Huchown by his more daring supporters, would, were these attributions correct, add a great store of romance to Scottish literature. Unfortunately the latest authority does not admit even Huchown's Scottish nationality.(1)

Huchown's "Great Geste of Arthure" has been identified as the alliterative Morte Arthure" of the Thornton MS.(2) This identification is, like everything else relating to him, exceedingly doubtful.(3) We really do not know whether the

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(1) S.O. Andrews in "Review of English Studies", vol.V,p.12 (London 1929) argues that Huchown was a N.W. Englishman. See p.20.

(2) Edited for the Early English Text Soc. by G.G.Perry; London 1865.

(3) S.O. Andrews (Review of English Studies, Lond.1928, vol.IV, p.418) points out that the dialect of the"Morte Arthure" (Thornton MX) has never been thoroughly discussed. Schofield called it N.W.Midland; Amours thinks that the text, originally Scottish or Northern "has been transcribed into the Yorkshire-Northern of three quarters of a century later". He attributes it to Huchown - Introduction to Sc. Allit. Poems, Chap.VI, S.7 and S.12. The "Cambridge History of English Literature"puts the 'Morte Arthure' among Scottish works. Andrews argues from the alliteration, etc., that the original was written in N.W. Midland, and that the scribe, Thornton, a native of Yorkshire, copied it out with an admixture of his own Northern dialect. It had therefore nothing at all to do with Scotland. In vol.V (1929) p.12 Andrews continues his argument to show that the "Awntyrs of Arthur" and "Susan" were originally written in N.W.Midland, and that, since their style is very similar to that of the "Morte Arthure" they are, as Wyntoun says, the work of one man, Huchown - who was, however a N.W.Midland Englishman. (This identifies "The Awntyrs of Arthur," edited by Amours in "Scottish Alliterative Poems", with what Wyntoun calls "the Awntyrs of Gawane".)
Wells, in his "Manual of the Writings in Middle English" says the"Morte Arthure"was composed in the North of England or the South of Scotland, probably between 1350 and 1400. "The case seems to be against Huchown", p.36.
G. Neilson claims the"Morte Arthure"as one of his (Scottish)/

poem was written originally in Scots and copied out by an English scribe who added some characteristics of his Midland dialect, or whether a northern scribe added northern or Scottish characteristics to a Midland English poem. F.J.Amours supports the former theory, and claims the "Morte Arthure" for Scotland, or possibly the north of England. S.O.Andrews propounds the latter view; J.E.Wells is non-committal.

The Thornton "Morte Arthure" is a fine story, written with a good sense of movement and an easy command of the alliterative style. It is half romance, half chronicle, and in its general tone and feeling seems to belong to the early chronicle tradition more than to the highly developed romantic school of contemporary France. Like "The Bruce" it has no feminine element. The chief source of the "Morte Arthure" is, as we might expect, not a romance but Geoffrey of Monmouth's Latin chronicle, the

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(3) continued.
(Scottish) Huchown's chief works. His arguments however, set forth with great detail and subtlety in "Huchown of the Awle Ryale", chap. IX (Glasgow 1902) seem really too good to be true. He tries to establish a lengthy canon for the poet, including even "Sir Gawain and the Green Knight" and "The Pearl"; to identify him as Sir Hugh of Eglinton (mentioned by Dunbar in "The Lament for the Makaris") and to discover something of his life story and his literary dealings with Barbour. It would be quite delightful if we could accept all that he proposes.
Another authority, now rather out of date, is M.Trautmann. See his "Der Dichter Huchown und seine Werke" in Anglia vol.I ~~Leipzig~~ Halle 1875. He attributes "M.A." to Huchown. So does another German critic, P. Branscheid in "Quellen des Morte Arthure", Anglia VIII, 1887.

"Historia Regum Britanniae".[1] The English chronicle by Layamon, and possibly the French chronicle by Wace[2] have also been used. These do not account for all the adventures. Some romance of Florent, as yet unidentified, must have provided the episode of the siege and battle of Metz. Florent seems to have been originally the hero of these wars, but he has been made to cede his place to Arthur and Gawain.[3] There seem to be borrowings from the "Voeux du Paon", for Arthur dreams of the Nine Worthies,[4] all Fortune's victims, and vows are repeatedly mentioned. There is nothing said of them in the chronicle sources.[5]

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(1) P. Branscheid "Quellen des Morte Arthure" in Anglia VIII 179 (~~Leipzig~~ Halle 1885) passim. G. Neilson - "Huchown of the Awle Ryale" (Glasgow 1902) chapter IX.
(2) Branscheid, op.cit, passim.
(3) "Morte Arthure", ll 2482-2031; Branscheid pp.216-17.
(4) " " (Arthur's dream) ll.3206-3455; (Nine Worthies) ll.3409-3440.
(5) G. Neilson ("Huchown" chap.IX, S.4) says, "In the Brut there is no machinery of "avows", made either by Arthur or by his knights; no mention of any particular form of surrender or submission by the rebellious vassal or vanquished enemy, no mention of any ceremonial by way of amends to satiate the blood feud or avoid future hostility; no mention of the Nine Worthies. All these features occur in the "Voeux du Paon", and are transferred and made part of the framework of the "Morte Arthure"". Neilson uses all this in his elaborate argument that Huchown was Sir Hugh of Eglinton who knew, and perhaps worked with, Barbour.

Some romance of "Fierabras", probably French, must have suggested the allusion to the relics;[1] "Ogier Danois" supplied another incident,[2] and "Generydes" may account for a couple of names.[3] The story of the giant who wove his garment from the beards of kings recalls two other French romances, "Li chevalier as devs espees" and "Le roi Arthus".[4] Arthur's lament over Gawain recalls Charlemagne's lament for Roland, but this is a Latin source.[5] Some of the speeches are more like French romance than Latin chronicle.[6] In short, whoever wrote the "Morte Arthure" must have had a very good knowledge of French literature.

The third poem mentioned as Huchown's in Wyntoun's oracular lines is "The Awntyrs of Gawain". Huchown seems to have

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(1) "Morte Arthure", ll.3427-3429. G. Neilson, "Huchown of the Awle Ryale", p.52.

(2) The episode of the shaving of ambassadors as a studied insult. "Morte Arthure", l.2331, etc. It reappears in "Vespasian and Titus", another of Huchown's poems, according to Neilson, op.cit, Ch.III, S.3 and Ch.IX, S.6.

(3) Neilson tries to link up "Morte Arthure" with "The Parliament of the Thre Ages" which he claims for Huchown, by means of some very flimsy borrowings from "Generydes". op.cit. Ch.IX, S.6 and Ch.X, S.2.

(4) "Morte Arthure", ll 888-1221. Branscheid op.cit.p.189. The adventure is copied later in the poem, when Gawain fights another giant, "M.A", ll. 2513-2716. Branscheid compares it with Chrestien de Troyes' "Li Chevalier as deux espees" and Lancelot du Lac", op.cit. 217-18.

(5) From the "Itinerarium Domini Turpini", "M.A." ll.3952, etc. G. Neilson op.cit, Ch.IX, S.6.

(6) eg. "M.A.", ll.320-394 - see Branscheid, p.184 and other passages.

some claim to the "Awntyrs of Arthur"[1] and, as Gawain, not Arthur, is the hero of this extant poem, it has been identified with Huchown's "Awntyrs of Gawain". The poem falls into two parts very slightly connected with each other. In the first episode, the ghost of Guinevere's mother appears to her and to Sir Gawain to warn them against the sins of pride and impurity, and to prophesy the overthrow of Arthur's power. The source of this part of the story is in the "Trentalle Sancti Gregorii"[2] where Gregory receives from a ghost a similarly solemn warning. It is a proof of the popularity of the Arthurian cycle and of its deep hold on the imagination that the poet has, rather pointlessly, substituted the queen of romance for the saint.

The second part of the "Awntyrs of Arthur" deals with the combat between Sir Gawain and Sir Galeron. "The adventure of Galeron and Gawain", says its editor, "is nothing but one of the stock stories so common in the Round Table cycle".[3] No exact source is known, though the plan of the episode is quite

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(1) Published by F.J. Amours in "Scottish Alliterative Poems". S.T.S. Ed. & Lond. 1897. Amours ascribes the poem to Huchown (Introd. VI, S.11), so does Neilson ("Huchown of the Awle Ryale" XIV, S.2.) M. Trautmann had left it anonymous (Anglia v.I, 1878, pp.188 ff). S.O. Andrews inclines to attribute it to his English Huchown. According to him it is an English poem originally written in N.W. Midland dialect. See note 3 on page 50 supra. Wells (Manual of Writings in Middle English, p.61) says it was composed in the North of England in the middle or late 14th century.

(2) G. Neilson "Huchown of the Awle Ryale", XIV, S2.

(3) Amours, Introduction to "Scottish Alliterative Poems", VI, S.13, p.lxxiii.

unoriginal, and we have to fall back on the alarming supposition that the author may actually have invented the story himself. Such a thing, though quite unorthodox, and most unpopular with the learned, is just possible. It is possible too,[1] that the poem may have had some political meaning. Whether or not this is true, it is certainly written in the manner of the French romances.

We come now to an Arthurian poem which is unanimously accepted as Scottish. This is "The Knightly Tale of Golagros and Gawane"[2] which, like "The Pistyl of Susan", the "Morte Arthure" and "The Awntyrs of Arthur" is written in alliterative metre. In subject too, and in its lact of unity, it bears some resemblance to "The Awntyrs", but is nearly a century later. Amours[3] has ascribed it to Clerk of Tranent, one of Dunbar's Makars, but it is safer to call it anonymous.[4] If the poem

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(1) G. Neilson sees in it a political allegory in which Arthur represents Edward III; Gawain, the Black Prince, and Galeron Sir Robert of Erskine, a Scottish envoy sent in 1358 to ask for a respite in the payment of David II's ransom. If this were correct, it would simply be another proof of the familiarity and popularity of the Arthurian Cycle. In the 15th century, the form used for such an allegory would be not romance but some dream setting or so on, as, for example, in "The Howlat", which, though not a dream, is in the form of bird allegory. See Neilson "Huchown of the Awle Ryale",XVII,pp. 132 and 134.

(2) Published by F.J.Amours in "Scottish Alliterative Poems", S.T.S., Ed. & London, 1897. J.E.Wells calls it a Scottish poem - "Manual of the Writings in Middle English", p.63.

(3) Amour's introduction to "Scottish Alliterative Poems", Chap.I, S.6. Neilson, of course, claims it for Huchown - "Huchown of the Awle Ryale", chap.17.

(4) J.E.Wells says the ascription to Clerk is on very doubtful grounds. (Manual, p.63)

really belongs to the later half of the fifteenth century, it may quite probably have been written to please the chivalrous taste of James IV. Our Scottish "Lancelot of the Laik"[1] belongs to his reign and celebrates one of the greatest heroes of French romance. "Golagros and Gawane" is a free rendering of parts of an equally famous story, for it is based on two episodes from "Percevalle le Gallois" the voluminous prose romance of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries by Chrestien de Troyes and his continuators. Gautier de Doulens is the author of the particular part of the romance from which the Scottish poet chose his two episodes. He was no servile imitator, and in some incidents he does not follow the French. His editor gives a detailed list of these;[2] and remarks that the Scottish poet is poor in the speeches, but at his best in the battle scenes.[3]

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(1) See p. 63.
(2) F.J.Amours, Introduction to "Scottish Alliterative Poems", chapter I.
(3) ibid. G. Neilson (Huchown of the Awle Ryale", XVII,p.132 and 134) attributes this poem to Huchown, and would interpret it, like the Awntyrs, as a political allegory, in which Golagros represents King John of France, Arthur is Edward III, and Gawain the Black Prince. He sees similar political allusions in "Sir Gawain and the Green Knight", which he likewise claims for his hero.

This is characteristic of the Scottish treatment of romance, particularly in the earlier period. Action, not "l'élégance sociale"[1] was the favourite theme in Scotland. Perceval and Lancelot, when they were known to the Scottish writers, had become typically French heroes of romance, in spite of their British origin, but Tristrem, one feels, never quite belonged to their courtly company. His story is surely one of the most beautiful and poignant that the world has ever made; it is more primitive, pagan and passionate than the others; it is more akin to the ballads. Our version[2] is a poor one, though it does not altogether fall short of its subject.[3] Sir Walter Scott[4] attributed it to Thomas the Rhymer, and one wishes that such a poetically suitable attribution might be accepted; but present day opinion declares the poem to be

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(1) Charles Aubertin thus describes the French Arthurian Cycle (Histoire de la Langue et de la Littérature françaises au Moyen Age", Paris 1894, vol I, p.334) - "Dans le cycle d'Artus, le chevalier n'est rien sans la dame de ses pensées; en son absence, il est anéanti, il n'agit plus, ne voit plus, n'existe plus...On distingue sans peine les éléments d'origine très-diverse dont la réunion forme l'idéale de l'amour, tel que nous les décrivent les poèmes de Chrestien de Troyes; c'est un mélange de la conception galloise du rôle des femmes, de certain souvenirs d'Ovide, de l'élégance sociale des troubadours et des cours d'amour, avec l'esprit facile et riant de la Champagne et de l'Ile de France". Much of this remained a foreign and unassimilated element in the Scottish romances.

(2) "Sir Tristrem", etc., ed. by Walter Scott, Edinburgh, 1804 and "Sir Tristrem", ed. by G.P.McNeil,S.T.S. Ed. & Lond. 1886.

(3) G. Saintsbury "A Short History of English Literature) pp.84-5.

(4) Scott's preface, p.IX. McNeil also inclines to attribute it to Thomas the Rhymer, on the authority of Robert Mannyng of Brunne. See his introd. to the S.T.S. ed.

English.[1] Its ultimate source is the great Anglo-Norman romance written by an unknown Thomas, of which only fragments have been preserved.[2]

This chapter seems unable to escape from what a psychologist might call "the riddle of personality", for we cannot entirely pass over an interesting, though bold, suggestion made by J.T.T. Brown that some romances and other poems generally called English are by a Scottish author, Rate, unknown to literary history.[3] This is no less a person than the translator of "The Buik of Alexander" - according to J.T.T.Brown, and the confessor to King James I. He is credited with a lengthy list of works, including some poems from the Ashmole MS. with the colophon "quod Kate". This is a mistake for "Rate", to whom these poems are ascribed in the dewcription of the MS. Brown thinks that their language and grammar are Scottish modified by an English scribe, but adds that a fuller examination of the MS. is necessary. Among these poems are the romances,

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(1) J.E.Wells - "A Manual of the Writings in Middle English" p.79; "Sir Tristrem is the only Middle English romance version of the Tristram and Iseult story outside of Malory". It was composed in the N.Midland or the North, probably in the last years of the 13th century. "The general present opinion is that it was the reputation of Thomas of Erceldoun that led the writer of the English piece and Mannyng to connect him with the narrative".

(2) J.E.Wells, ibid, p.78.

(3) J.T.T.Brown, "The Poems of David Rate, Confessor to James I of Scotland" in "The Scottish Antiqury", vol XI, no.44, pp.145-154, ed. April 1897; also vol.XII, no.45, p.5, July 1897. See Ritchie, "Buik of Alexander", Introd. p.lxviii.

"Ysombras", "The Erle of Toulous", "Lybeus Disconius" (1) which come, partly at least, from French sources. If these poems do belong to Scottish literature, they would add considerably to its debt to French romance. The theory is, however, improbable.

A very early lost romance of the Charlemagne Cycle has been traced to Scotland by way of Scandinavia. The original of the second branch of the Scandinavian "Karlamagnus Saga": "Af Fru Olif ok Landres Syni Hennar" (Lady Olive and Landres her Son) came from Scotland, and may have been written in the Scottish dialect. The first chapter of Fru Olif says:

> "Lord Bjarni Erlingsson of Bjarkey found this saga written down and narrated in the English language in Scotland while staying there the winter after the death of King Alexander (III)..... So that the saga might be readable and the people could get from it profit and pleasure, Lord Bjarni had it translated out of English into Norwegian". (2)

Leach concludes that the romance was written in Scots, though

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(1) Lybeus Disconius" has a parallel in the ballad "Kemp Owyne" (see F.J.Child "The English and Scottish Popular Ballads", Boston and New York 1882-4; vol I, p.306). The story is that of a maiden turned into a monster and released from the spell by kissing a knight. (The man kisses the monster three times in the ballad). The English romance comes from a French original, probably older than "Le Bel Inconnu" (Wells, Manual, p.71). See infra, p.72.
"Rate's" authorship is not even discussed by Wells, who calls "Libeaus Desconus" Kentish, (p.70), "Isumbras", N.East Midland (p.114) and "The Earl of Toulouse" - a mixture of folk-lore, legend and actual history - also N.E.Midland (pp.137-38)

(2) H.G.Leach, "Angevin Britain and Scandinavia", Cambridge 1921, pp.241,243-245.

this is not actually proved. "Carlovingian romances were popular in Scotland" and "Scottish chiefs at this time were omniverous readers of French epic in all vernaculars. It may have been from his friends the Bruces that Bjarni had the story". The story copies the folk tale of the persecuting step-mother and calumniated wife, which it attaches to Charlemagne's sister. The English or Scottish original is lost. A fifteenth century French version "Doon de la Roche" is extant in an unpublished MS. A Spanish version, "Enrique Fi de Oliva Rey de Jherusalem", has been published, and we have a thirteenth century allusion to one other form. There is no word however of any other English translation from the French.(1) The date is very early for a Scottish version, about contemporary with Thomas the Rhymer (c.1280) whom Professor Saintsbury considers rather too early to have produced "Sir Tristrem".(2) Still, there is no impossibility in Leach's theory and it makes one wonder again how much of our early Scottish literature has been destroyed and forgotten.

"Rauf Coilzear"(3) is another popular tale connected with Charlemagne. It is not unlike the Scottish story of the Guidman of Ballengeich(4) - the King entertained (or helped) by a peasant and the recognition later at the palace. "There is

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(1) Leach, ibid.
(2) G. Saintsbury "A Short History of English Literature", London, 1922, pp.84-85.
(3) In "Scottish Alliterative Poems" ed F.J.Amours, S.T.S. Ed & London, 1897.
(4) See Scott's "Tales of a Grandfather", ch.XXVII, Ed. 1888, vol I, p.253. See T.F.Henderson, "Scottish Vernacular Literature" London 1898, p.78, on the parallels in English ballads.

nothing in this work", says its editor, "to suggest translation or even imitation.... the only foreign element is the setting and framework of the story".(1) However, there may be more in it than this, for "a Belgian story of the Emperor Charles V and a broom-maker has all the typical points of the older cycle (i.e. "Rauf Coilzear"), and, curiously enough, Charles V instructs the broom-maker to bring a load of his ware to the palace to sell, as Charles the Great does in the case of Rauf Coilzear". Does not this suggest that the origin of both is some French folk-tale connected with Charlemagne?(2)

"Rauf Coilzear" has brought us to the fifteenth century, the time of "Blind Harry's" "Schir William Wallace".(3) As usual, no one really knows who "Harry" was, whether he was blind, whether he was a minstrel, or whether he existed at all. The poem, "Schir William Wallace", which certainly does exist, is a great contrast to Barbour's "Bruce" as all the critics have pointed out. It lacks the true sense of chivalry which pervades Barbour's poem and is clearly far removed from the finest type of romance. Still, "Harry" seems to have had some knowledge of French

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(1) F.J.Amours, introd. to the "Scottish Alliterative Poems", S.S.T.S. 5, p.xxxix.

(2) F.J.Child "English and Scottish Popular Ballads", Boston and New York, 1882, vol V, p.74. Child gives many more parallels to "Rauf Coilzear" in notes to "King Edward IV & the Tanner of Tamworth", no.273; vol V, p.71.

(3) "Schir William Wallace" ed. J. Moir, S.T.S. Ed. & London 1889. It was written about the middle of the 15th century - see Moir's introd, p.viii; see J.T.T.Brown "The Wallace and the Bruce Restudied", (Bonn 1900) passim.

romances and possibly of the French language,[1] for he was no such "burrel man" as he himself made out.[2] His reference to the death by treachery of some of the Nine Worthies is probably copied from Barbour, but he has another passage about the treason at Roncesvalles:

> "At Rownsywaill the tresoun was playnly
> Be wemen maid, that Ganzelon with him brocht,
> And Turke wyn; forber thaim couth thai nocht.
> Lang ws in wer gert thaim desyr thair will,
> Quhilk brocht Charlis to fellen loss and ill.
> The flour off France, withoutyn redempcioun
> Throuch that foull deid, was brocht to confusioun". (3)

He knew too the story of the "Fuerres de Gadres":

> "Sic a flear before was nevir seyn:
> Nocht at Gadderis, off Gawdifer the keyn,
> Quhen Alexander reskewed the foryouris
> Micht till him be comperd in tha houris". (4)

Harry may have known this story through the Scottish "Buik of Alexander"without having recourse to French. He did make some attempt to adorn his poem with "classical" examples of prowess and so on, and surely the example of the romances, whether he knew them in French or not, is responsible for the episodes of Wallace's interview with the English queen[5] and for his adventures with

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(1) "Harry must have had a very considerable education for his time. He was able to translate Latin. He uses a considerable number of words of French origin which were not then in common use",-J.Moir, introd. to S.T.S. ed. p.464.
(2) See W.H.Schofield "Mythical Bards and the life of William Wallace" Cambridge 1920, passim.
(3) "Schir William Wallace", Bk VIII, ll.1256-62.
(4) " " " Bk X, l.341
(5) " " " Bk VIII.

the pirates and in France[1] all quite unhistorical.[2] The meeting with the queen in particular is a clear attempt to place Wallace among the great romantic heroes famous for their courtesy and popularity with the fair sex. Barbour had made no such attempt with his Bruce, nor did he need to, relying as he did on the older epic spirit. "Wallace" is far removed from the true epic tradition, and its author no doubt felt that a little modern romantic embellishment was necessary to give glamour and polish to his rough tale of war.

The Scottish version of "Lancelot of the Laik"[3] dates from the end of the fifteenth century,[4] the time when James IV was eagerly striving to keep alive the spirit of chivalry. The Scottish poem is a fairly free translation of the beginning of the French prose "Lancelot", a vast compilation made about 1220 of the earlier romances of Lancelot, Perceval, Galahad and the Grail.[5] It is "a portion consisting of from five to seven chapters of the printed version according to the edition. It is the only version in our language which treats of the first section of the Lancelot..... The translation deals

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(1) Schir William Wallace, Bks IX and XI.
(2) Introd, pp.xxxviii and xli.
(3) "Lancelot of the Laik, an anonymous fifteenth century poem" edited by M.M.Gray, S.T.S. Ed. & London, 1912.
(4) J.E.Wells "Manual of the Writings in Middle English",p.47, dates it between 1475 and 1500.
(5) See L. Petit de Julleville "Histoire de la Langue et de la Littérature françaises", vol. I, p.322, Paris 1896-99.

daughter of an unrecorded king of England, Philipon. The story comes from a French romance of which only prose versions now exist. "The Scotish (sic.) author has regularly detailed the incidents of the prose romance, but has added some portion of poetical embellishments.....He not only refers to the French original, but likewise to a translation, probably into the English language:

> "Nocht can my pen discryve nor ȝit advance
> His valiant deidis nor his chevalrie,
> So far as might be reasoun satisfie
> Him that in French hes red this historie;
> To sic ane rethorik nather be laud and glorie,
> As unto him that did this buik compyle
> In French, illumining with his goldin style;
> And he that did it out of French translait,
> Hes it depaint of langwage full ornate,
> And lustie termis richt poeticall:
> Bot I, the third and secundest of all,
> Can not so meitter as thay put in prose;
> Full oft I put the nettil for the rose (1)
> And oft the bindweid for the lillie quhyte."

This passage indicates that the anonymous Scottish poet followed both the French and the translated, no doubt English, prose romances. Even this short quotation shows that he had considerable command of his verse, and its smoothness and overflow suggest that he was an admirer of Chaucer and Lydgate.(2) Like his contemporaries, he sometimes borrows exotic Latin and French terms.(3)

The story belongs not to the epic but to the courtly, social

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(1) Preface pp.v and vi, and text p.351.
(2) See for example p.24, and p.62: "Lodstar of love and lampe of lustieheid" etc. l.365.
(3) Preface p.x.

type of romance. It deals with love-making, feasts, tourneys and the etiquette of chivalry. It would doubtless appeal, like the Lancelot, to James IV and his court, if indeed it dates from that period. One very interesting feature is the account of vows made to a peacock.(1) Whereas, in the "Voeux du Paon",(2) the knights vow to accomplish deeds, often of foolhardy daring, in a real war, here the vows relate to a tournament and a marriage, and are little more than a courtly ceremonial. At a banquet in Paris:

> "Alse of the letter course they servit ware,
> All be sex plesant ladyis of bewtie cleire,
> And with aucht knightis convoyit royallie
> And awght squyeris (that were) ȝeing and lustie,
> Come to the King, and thair ane Poune present,
> Saying to him thir words in verament,
> Sir, to this Poune ȝe do as it effeiris.
> This nobill King quhen he thir wordis heiris,
> Upon this wayis, quoth he, heir I avow,
> Unto the Poune and Ladyis unto ȝow,
> The fairest justing the morn I sall devyse
> In honour of Madame Meliades
> That ever was into my tyme in France,
> Thairin sall be no let nor variance." (3)

The comparative insignificance of the vows seem to mark this romance as a late French treatment of the subject.

Some years before, Sir Gilbert Hay had made a second

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(1) See page 261, Bk.IV, l.803, p.219, l.896.

(2) See supra, p.36.

(3) Book IV, ll.811-824, on pp.216-17.

Scottish translation from the "Roman d'Alixandre".(1) This is the "Alexander Book" partly preserved in the Taymouth Castle MS. The scribe says of it:

> "Translatit it vas forsuithe as I hard say
> It the instance of Lord erskeine be sir gilbert hay,
> Quhilk into France treulie was duelland
> Veill tuentye four ȝeir out of Scotland
> And in the king of Francis seruice vas" . (2)

Hay seems not to have known that part of the "Roman d'Alixandre" had already been translated into Scots. Unlike the "Buik of Alexander", Hay's Alexander Book gives the whole fabulous history of the hero from his birth to his death, including the episodes of the "Forraye of Gadderis" and the "Avowis", but he alters and abridges the French romance.(3) Like "Schir William

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(1) "The Buk of Alexander ye Conqueror" - "only a copy of part of a copy of this poem exists" - see "Gilbert of the Haye" ed. J.H.Stevenson,S.T.S. Ed. & Lond. 1901, vol.I, Introd. S.2, pxxix. See A. Herrmann "The Taymouth Castle MS of Sir Gilbert Hay's "Buik of King Alexander the Conqueror" "Wissenchaftliche Beilage zum Jahresbericht der Zwölften Städtischen Realschule zu Berlin", Ostern 1898, pp.5-6. O.Glöde's review of A.Herrmann's "The Forraye of Gadderis: The Vowis," etc., Berlin 1900 in Englische Studien, vol XXXIII, p.259, Leipzig, 1904. Only the "Forraye" and the "Vowis" have been printed.

(2) Herrmann, op.cit. p.23; from MS folio 229a.

(3) A.Herrmann dates the poem about 1460 (p.5). "The two episodes "the Forraye and Vowis)...are likewise to be found in the MS (Hay's work) namely in folios 42b-50a and 90a-110a, respectively, but in a materially altered and considerably abridged form, being condensed into about 2500 verses". There are also marked differences in language and rhyme between the two Buiks. The full title of Herrmann's printed extracts is: "The Forraye of Gadderis; The Vowis; Extracts from Sir Gilbert Hay's Buik of Alexander the Conqueror. Wissenschaftliche beilage zum jahresbericht der zwölften städtischen realschule zu Berlin. Ostern 1900").

Wallace", and "Lancelot of the Laik", Hay's"Alexander Book" is written in decasyllabic couplets, not in the octosyllables of the "Bruce" and the earlier Buik of Alexander.

Sir Gilbert Hay had a very thorough knowledge of French, and a long period of his life was spent in France, where he became Chamberlain to Charles VII. After his return to Scotland he made three translations of French works into Scottish prose, of which we shall have occasion to speak in a later chapter.(1)

The story of the Seven Sages is, like that of Alexander, extant in two Scottish versions. This Eastern subject belongs more to the literature of the fabliaux than to the true romances. A collection of short stories is bound together after the manner of the Arabian Nights. The English version dates probably from the beginning of the fourteenth century,(1) the first Scottish version from the end of the fifteenth or beginning of the sixteenth, the second from the sixteenth.

The Asloan MS(3) contains an incomplete Scottish version of the Seven Sages. The author is unknown and has written no introduction to his work. The poem is in octosyllabic couplets; it misses out the story told by the sixth sage.(4) Craigie and

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(1) See p.244.
(2) G. Saintsbusy, "A Short History of English Literature", London 1922, p.92.
(3) ed. by W. A. Craigie, S.T.S. Ed. & Lond. 1923-24, vol II, p.l.
(4) W. A. Craigie, Preface to the Asloan MS, p.i.

Wells[1] agree that it is independent of the English rendering and H.Varnhagen definitely calls it a translation from French:

> "Die vorlage nach welcher unser dichter gearbeitet hat, lässt sich aus der angegebenen reihenfolge der erzählungen bestimmen. Deise reihenfolge stimmt nämlich überein mit der in einer anzahl altfranzösischen prosadarstellungen, welche G. Paris als gruppe A. bezeichnet hat. Unser dichter hat also einen altfranzösischen prosatext benutzt". (2)

Prose is now playing a much more important part in literature, especially in France. Three Scottish romances, "Lancelot of the Laik", "Clariodus" and the anonymous "Seven Sages" are translations from French prose into verse; Hay's Alexander, on the other hand, is a translation from verse of an earlier period. The Scottish writers were not yet willing or able to attempt prose fiction, as the contemporary French romancers were doing.

The second version of the story[3] is by John Rolland of Dalkeith, the author of the allegorical "Court of Venus"[4] and was written in 1560.[5] Its source is now known to be an English, not a French, prose romance.[6] Again we see the Scottish

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(1) J.E.Wells "A Manual of the Writings in Middle English" p.187, calls it early 16th century, probably from a French prose original.

(2) H. Varnhagen: "Über eine unbekannte Schottische Bearbeitung der Sieben Weisen" in "Englische Studien", vol 25, p.322; 1898, Leipzig. (The want of capitals is in the original).

(3) Edited for the Bannatyne Club by D. Laing, Edinburgh 1837; newly edited for the S.T.S. by G.F.Black, Ed. & Lond. 1932: "The seuin Seages".

(4) Ed. by W. Gregor, S.T.S. Ed. & London, 1884.

(5) The colophon date. See Black's introduction p.xiii.

(6) "That Rolland used the prose translation by Wynkyn de Worde, most probably in the reprint by Copland, seems absolutely certain". Black, ibid, p.xvi. He follows Georg Buchner's conclusions. (Note 2, p.xv). Laing also thought this was the source. See his preface to the Bannatyne Club's edition, p.xiv.

preference for verse, "rurall ryme", as Rolland calls it, and not without reason, for he tells us:

"At the requeist of my Ant callit Cait,
In roustie ryme this quair I did translait
Of all trim termis as ȝe may se denude,
Becaus scho me protestit air and lait
All strange termis to cast out of my gait". (1)

Her nephew's earlier poem had proved too hard for the good lady. As well as the original epilogue, Rolland adds a prologue and morals to his collection of tales. He was the last of his school. He versified a romance and composed an allegory long after these fashions were outworn.(2)

Two more romance subjects must be mentioned, though they have come down to us in modernized versions. These are "The History of Sir Egeir, Sir Gryme, and Sir Gray-Steill" and "The History of Roswall and Lillian".(3) They are pleasant romance stories, both in the old-fashioned octosyllabic couplet. The earliest printed edition of the former, of which we have any record, dated from 1577, but the story was probably written in Scots before that time.(4) It is mentioned as a favourite tale in "The Complaynt of Scotlande"(5) and Lindsay refers to it.(6) The earliest printed edition of "Roswall and Lillian" dates from 1663; no MS

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(1) S.T.S. ed. p.325. See Black's introd. pp.xiii and xiv.
(2) Laing's preface, p.xxvii.
(3) Both are published by D.Laing in "Early Metrical Tales" Edinburgh 1826.
(4) Preface to the above, p.ix.
(5) "The Complaynt of Scotlande" (ed. J.A.H.Murray, E.E.T.S. ex.ser.17, 1872) p.63, as 'Syr egeir and syr gryme'. See also Murray's notes, 35, p.lxxix.
(6) Lindsay ed. D.Hamer, "Squyer Meldrum", l.1318, and "Satyre of the Thrie Estaitis", l.242 (version I) S.T.S. ed. v.II, p.30.

of it is extant.[1] It is a short, probably popularised romance story, and long retained popular flavour; Laing says (1826) "not many years have elapsed since it was not unusual to hear it chaunted in the Streets of Edinburgh".[2] How long ago that seems! The sources of these tales are not accurately known and may possibly be English.[3]

Although the age of romance was past, the romances themselves remained in favour for some time longer. In their literary forms they were still the amusements of the nobility,[4] the satirists used them as a butt,[5] and the common people retold their stories in their own way. In the middle of the sixteenth century we have in "The Complaynt of Scotlande" a long list of popular tales, many of which originated in the French romances. We meet again with "Ferrand, erl of Flandris",[6] "Gauen and gollogras",[7] "Lancelot du lac",[8] and "Claryades and Maliades".[9] Florent, called "Floremond of albanye" and Ypomedon are heroes of French romance. "Robert le dyabil, duc of Normandie" is a prose

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(1) Preface to "Early Metrical Tales", p.liv.
(2) ibid.
(3) See T.F.Henderson: "Scottish Vernacular Literature", London 1898, pp.38-39.
(4) See J. Sharman: "The Library of Mary, Queen of Scots" passim. London 1889.
(5) eg. Lindsay's "Squyer Meldrum" - in part satiric. -"Lindsay" ed. D.Hamer, S.T.S. Ed. & Lond. 1931,vol I,p.145. Dunbar's "Sir Thomas Norray", after the style of Chaucer; and indirectly, "The Turnament". S.T.S. edited by J.Small, Ed. & London,1893, vol II, p.192 and 122.
(6) "The Complaynt of Scotlande", etc. 1549, ed. J.A.H.Murray, Early English Text Society,London 1872, p.63; see introduction pp.lxxiii-lxxv.
(7) See pages 55-56 supra. (8) See pp.63-64 supra.
(9) See pp.64-66 supra.

romance from the "Roman de Robert le Diable" twice printed by Wynkyn de Worde. "The tayl of the volfe of the varldis end" is probably from a Breton lay. Some Arthurian stories may never have passed through French. "The tayl of the four sonnis of aymon" and "The tayl of the brig of mantribil" belong to the Carlovingian Cycle; the stories of Bevis, Jason and perhaps "Orpheus, king of portingal" are from English translations of French.(1)

Some echoes of the romances may be traced in the Scottish ballads. "Kemp Owyne"(2) is the same story as "Le Bel Inconnu", "Hind Horn" comes from the same source as an English geste and a French romance.(3) "Thomas the Rymer" recalls "Ogier"(4) and "King Orfeo"(5) is another ballad version of the old classical story which had become a romance subject. The names of the lovers in the ballad "Blancheflour and Jellyflorice"(6) must

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(1) Lindsay too refers to the French romances:
"Rolland with Brandwell, his bricht brand,
Faucht never better, hand for hand,
Nor Gawain aganis Gologras,
Nor Olyver with Pharambras.
I wait he faucht that day als weill
As did Sir Gryme aganis Greysteill" - "Squyer Meldrum," ll.1313-1318. See Francisque-Michel: "A Critical Inquiry into the Scottish Language", Ed. & Lond. 1882, p.15, note 2.

(2) F.J.Child, "English and Scottish Popular Ballads", Boston and New York 1882, vol I, no 34, p.306, and vol V, p.290. See my p. 59 note 1 .

(3) Child, ibid, vol I, no 17, p.187, and vol II, p.499.

(4) " v.I, pp.317-19 (and notes) no.37, and vol V, p.290. See p. 53.

(5) Child: vol I, p.215.

(6) e.g. "Floriz and Blaunchflur" edited for the E.E.T.S. no.14 by J.R.Lumby,1866. This version is fragmentary. Four English versions are known. The change of the name to Jellyflorice (i.e., Joli Florice) in the Scots ballad suggests that it came directly from French.

surely be borrowed from the French romance of "Florice et Blancheflour" or the English translations of it, though the stories have hardly anything in common.(1) An incident in "Jellon Grame" recalls one in the "Roman d'Alexandre et Mélusine"(2) and "King Arthur and King Cornwall" seems to derive from a Charlemagne chanson de geste. "John Thomson and the Turk" is another ballad connected with a French subject.(3)

There is no need to seek further proof of the popularity of the romances. Long after poets had ceased to write them they retained their place along with the later allegorical poetry(4)

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(1) Child, "English & Scottish Popular Ballads", Boston & New York, 1882, v.V, no.300, p.175: "The only thing in the romance that is even remotely like what we find in the ballad is that Florice saves Blancheflour from the death which his father had contrived for her in order to part the lovers, and this passage does not occur in the English versions of the romance."

(2) Child, ibid, vol V. p.226.

(3) It is from a story originally of the rape of King Solomon's queen, and Solomon's revenge. In a French romance of the 14th century Solomon is replaced by the Bastard of Bouillon. "It is however certain that the Solomon story was well known to the French, and as early as the twelfth century. There are likenesses in "Cligès" by Chrestien de Troies. The story of the French romance "Li Bastars de Bouillon" is quite like the Scottish ballad". "Cligès", has some incidents in common with "The Gay Goshawk", the lovers' escape through taking a drug that causes apparent death, and the test of molten lead or gold." Child vol.V.p.2.

(4) Stephen Hawes' "Pastime of Pleasure" ed. by W.E.Mead for the E.E.T.S. no.173,(1928 for 1927) an English poem of the early 16th century, shows how the familiar romance elements - combats, giants, etc., could be used as the material for a didactic allegory. Considering the date, the romantic adventures take a prominent place along with the usual abstractions and discussions.

as the favourite reading of the nobility. Their popularity is reflected in the records of royal pageants and banquets, where the heroes of the romances - Hercules, Jason, Alexander or Arthur and his knights, are often found in company with personified abstractions. To the chivalry of Burgundy and France the romantic heroes were as familiar as the saints, or as Dame Venus and Dan Cupido. The extravagance of the fifteenth century, especially in Burgundy,(1) sought to imitate the imagined splendours of the romances, and by outward pageantry to revive the spirit of a former age. The Court of James IV attempted, though on a smaller scale, to keep up the same chivalrous splendour as the Court of Burgundy, and the Scottish fifteenth century romances, as well as the records of pageants and tournaments, exemplify this. By the death of James IV, romance was doomed. It was taken over by the common people, and the heroes of court and castle reappeared in the tales of the shepherds, while they still lingered on in the libraries of the great.

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(1) See O. Cartellieri: "The Court of Burgundy", London, 1929.

C H A P T E R II.

THE THEMES OF THE TROUVERES.

Although we have practically no Scottish poetry of the twelfth or thirteenth centuries, the lyric of the Troubadours and Trouvères, which blossomed at that time in France, has left its mark on later Scottish literature.

Mediaeval Scottish lyric is in a very different position from that of France. Much of it has been lost, and all that is left is comparatively late and often imitative. The earlier fragments and refrains of French lyrical poetry go back to the half pagan times when the dance songs and May songs really belonged to the people of the soil.[1] There is hardly anything to represent such a period in Scotland,[2] unless we turn to Gaelic folk-song. The May festival, with its songs and dances - survivals of pre-Christian ritual - used to be held in Scotland as well as

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(1) See Gaston Paris: "Les Origines de la Poésie Lyrique" in "Mélanges", etc. (Paris 1912) pp.553 and 559. First published in the "Journal des Savants", 1891 and 1892.

(2) There are no examples of Scottish lyric between the fragment on the death of Alexander III, quoted by Wyntoun (Bk.VII, l.3621, S.T.S. ed. vol V, pp.144-145), and the time of James I. See W. Dawney, "Ancient Scottish Melodies" (Edinburgh 1838), p.44.

abroad. Alexander Scott tells us how:

"And now in May to madȳnis fawis
With tymmer wechtis to trip in ringis",

but he says:

"In May quhē men ȝeid everich one,
Wt Robene Hoid and Littill Johne,
To bring in bowis and birkin bobbynis;
Now all sic game is fastlingis gone
Bot gif it be amangis clovin Robbynis". (1)

By an Act of Parliament of 1555, the choosing of May Queens was forbidden.(2) It seems very likely that, since the nature festivals of May and Beltane (Midsummer) were part of the ancient witch cult,(3) so wide-spread in Scotland, some of the songs were stamped out and lost to us by the persecution of the witches at, and after, the Reformation. The purifying zeal of the Reformers against the Catholics doubtless destroyed many more, both sacred and profane.

These are a few of the reasons why so little purely lyrical poetry in Early and Middle Scots had survived.(4) The unsettled

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(1) "Of May" in S.T.S. ed. of Alexander Scott, p.23, ed. J. Cranstoun, 1896.
(2) note to the above, p.132. Another statute of 1549 suppressed all songs reflecting on the Roman Catholic Church. - Dawney op.cit, p.133.
(3) M.A. Murray, "The Witch-Cult in Western Europe", Oxford,1921, Ch.V, Ss, 1,3 & 4.
(4) Songs, now lost, are mentioned in "Colkelbie Sow" in Douglas's prologues to the Aeneid, 12 & 13, in Lindsay's "Complaint", and in "The Complaynt of Scotlande", see Dawney, op.cit. pp.50-55.

state of the language was another hindrance to the growth of a really native lyric. The ballads, our finest native growth, are not purely lyrical, not even as lyrical as the ballads of France.[1] When we come to Henryson, Dunbar, Lindsay and the Bannatyne and Maitland MSS, we find that lyric, such as it is, is no longer written in a purely native tradition, but that it has come under the influence of clerkly education and foreign culture. Culture in Scotland was more backward than it was in France, and education was rather more confined to the Church. In consequence, Scottish poetry, especially lyric, seldom has the unrestrained cultural freedom of French; it is generally tinged with didacticism or with an often blasphemous reaction to it, and it is always ready to turn to satire. Foreign influences, Latin, French and English, often join to form a curiously mixed style, put together without much thought of form. It is usually impossible to tell whether certain elements, and especially the echoes of the Trouvères, have come to the Scottish Makars through England[2] or directly from France. They

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(1) See M. Haupt "Französische Volkslieder"- Leipzig 1877.
(2) The style of the Troubadours and Trouvères had, in a modified form, become traditional in England in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. See H. Sandison "The Chanson d'Aventure in Middle English", Pennsylvania 1913, and J. Audiau, "Les Troubadours et l'Angleterre", Paris, new ed. 1927, passim. The earliest Trouvère elements in Scottish lyric date from the later half of the fifteenth century. Sandison, op. cit. p.23.

may even have come by way of the Goliardic Latin of the wandering clerks.

Although the theories of critics differ, and no one has much exact knowledge of the origin of French lyric, far more French than Scottish has been preserved, and it goes back to a much earlier period.(1) In the early days, women seem to have been the principal singers. We often find this in folk song. According to Gaston Paris, the oldest French lyrics come directly from the women's dance songs of the May festivals.(2) These were adopted by the Troubadours and Trouvères, or rather, by their forerunners in the country between the North and South,(3) and were transformed into courtly, more or less sophisticated, lyrics. Some refrains from the women's dance songs, or "caroles", have been preserved.(4) Then we have the women's or maidens' songs - giving perhaps the lament of the unhappy wife, or the love song of the shepherdess;(5) later, the jongleur writes his own introduction to these, telling how, as he rode forth on a May morning, he heard a maid sing. The chance encounter of

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(1) See Gaston Paris, "Les Origines de la Poésie Lyrique" in "Mélanges", etc., Paris 1912 (Journal des Savants 1891 and 1892), and A. Jeanroy, "Les Origines de la Poésie Lyrique en France", Paris, 2nd ed. 1904.
(2) G. Paris, op, cit, pp.551 and 559. He differs from Jeanroy on the origins of the genres.
(3) G. Paris, ibid, p.571.
(4) Jeanroy, pp.113-117, thinks the isolated refrains are survivals of later lyrics.
(5) G. Paris, op. cit., pp.548 and 559.

poet and maiden was then worked up into a story or a little dramatic scene, and so we have the Chanson d'Aventure in its two chief forms, the Chanson de la Mal Mariée and the Pastourelle,[1] distinguished by their indispensable narrative introductions from other kinds of lyric such as the Chanson and the Aube (song at dawn).

There has been much discussion of the origin of these poems, especially of the Pastourelle.[2] In the time of their greatest popularity they were certainly courtly and aristocratic.[3] Later, as a result of the popularity of allegory, ballades and rondeaux, the poetry of the Trouvères went out of fashion, but the old themes persisted in a simpler, more popular form,[4] and it is at this time (the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries) that we find the Chanson d'Aventure

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(1) See H. Sandison, "The Chanson d'Aventure in Middle English", S. II.

(2) G. Paris perhaps stresses the popular origin too much. Jeanroy thinks the Pastourelle was invented by the Troubadours and introduced to the North (op.cit, pp. xx, xxi, 18,90, etc). E. Piguet, "L'Évolution de la Pastourelle",(Bâle 1927, passim) thinks its origin was entirely literary and aristocratic.

(3) G. Paris agrees with Jeanroy and Piguet (L'Évolution de la Pastourelle, passim) here. Jeanroy, op. cit, chap.I; G. Paris, "Mélanges" p.609. See also Sandison, note 7 on p.4. E. Piguet sums up the conflicting opinions of eleven critics.

(4) Piguet, op. cit, passim.

becoming a favourite form in England and Scotland.[1]

Were we to take the poets' word for it, we should have to believe that practically all Mediaeval poetry was written in spring. Spring or summer, but especially May, is the indispensable setting for the love songs, the Chansons d'Aventure, the débats and even the later allegories of the Middle Ages. How little the comfortable modern town-dwellers can realise the wonder and the joy of the yearly miracle, when the trouvères, freed at last from the cold, discomfort and tedium of winter, rode out to the fields to do their "observaunce" to singing lark and blossoming hawthorn.[2] The French "Reverdie" is a

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(1) Sandison op. cit. 22-23. Miss Sandison gives a list of all the English and Scottish poems which can possibly be described as chansons d'aventure. I shall mention all the Scottish poems as examples of a French literary form, although it is unlikely that many of them were copied directly from the French.

(2) Guilhelm de Poitiers, in one of his chansons, (not a pastourelle) gives us a full and typical May setting, (strophe I):

"Ab la dolchor del temps novel
Foillo li bosc, e li aucel
Chanton chascus en lor lati
Segon lo vers del novel chan;
Adonc esta ben c'om s'aisi
D'acho don hom a plus talan".

("Grâce à la douceur du printemps, les bois se couverent de feuilles, les oiseaux chantent et chacun en son langage fait entendre les strophes d'un chant nouveau. Il est donc juste que chascun se procure ce plaisir que l'homme désire le plus ardemment".) - J. Audiau, "Nouvelle Anthologie des Troubadours", (Paris 1928) p.15.

simple spring song without any story, telling only of spring and of the poet's lady.[1] Our Scottish poem:

"Quen tayis bank wes blumyt bryt"[2]

is a most beautiful Chant de Mai, recounting after a detailed description of Spring with its flowers and birds and wild deer, how the poet, hidden under a holly[3] sees his lady pass by. He describes her wonderful beauty, but makes no attempt to follow her. The freshness of the description of nature is unusual and very charming.

May is the origin of the Chanson de la Mal Mariée - a very old form of lyric. The Spring festival was considered by the women as a liberation from the cares of everyday life and from the bond of matrimony. They were free to express their hatred of the husband, the jealous one, and to rail against his power.[4] In a very old poem from the Limousin, the May Queen leads the dance and drives away the "gelos", her

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(1) G. Paris, "Mélanges", p.555.

(2) Bannatyne MS ed. by W. Tod Ritchie for the S.T.S., Ed. & London 1928, vol III, p.296. A.35 in Miss Sandison's list. She calls this poem a pastourelle on account of the narrative opening; p.65.

(3) An English feature. Hawthorn is usual in French.

(4) G. Paris, "Mélanges", pp.599-607.

husband.[1] This was part of the festival ritual, and was no doubt connected with some pagan fertility cult.[2] Perhaps the connection with these Spring festivals, where so much licence was allowed, may account for the traditional coarseness of the Mal Mariée poems.

The primitive Chanson de la Mal Mariée was adopted by the courtly poets.[3] They gave it the usual narrative introduction of the Chanson d'Aventure, telling how, while riding past some garden or meadow, they heard a woman's complaint; they varied the subsequent story. Their poems may tell simply of the wife's lament, or of how the poet comforted her. She may meet her lover, or quarrel with her husband, or she may exchange confidences with other women. The courtly poets told these stories of low life in a satirical tone. The heroines are not really the typical

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(1) "A l'entrade del tens clar - eya
Pir ioie recomençar - eya
E pir ialous irritar - eya
Vol la regine mostrar
K'ele est si amourouse.
A la vi, a la vie, ialous!
Lassaz nos, lassaz nos
Ballar entre nos, entre nos"... J. Audiau - "Nouvelle Anthologie des Troubadours", Paris 1928, p.315.

(2) Sir James Fraser, "The Golden Bough", abridged edition, London 1929, passim.

(3) Gaston Paris, "Mélanges", p.609.

high born ladies of their own courtly circles, although they are sometimes described as such. They did not try to express only the woman's point of view, but showed their own aristocratic, witty and cynical attitude.(1) Later, the form was mainly used to express the usual satire against women, and this is its outstanding characteristic in Scotland.(2)

The matter of the wife's complaint is always the same:

"Crabbed age and youth
Cannot live together".

"Ben è noto", says Parducci, "quale sia il tema fondamentale dell'antica canzone di mal maritate: rivincita della beltà e giovinezza sacrificata a convenienze sociale; indipendenza della passione dal legame coniugale e derisione del marito. La donna, in questi componimenti, esala tutto il suo disprezzo e il suo odio contro il marito e accoglie più o meno favorevolmente le proposte d'un galante, che le vengon rivolte".(3) He goes on to give a list of all the most revolting traits of objectionable senility, culled from the French songs, which only Dunbar can surpass.

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(1) Jeanroy op. cit. pp.89-91. He thinks the satire is the popular element.

(2) Sandison, op. cit. p.51.

(3) A. Parducci, "La Conzone di Mal Maritata in Francia nei secoli XV & XVI", Romania, vol. 38, p.292, Paris 1909.

We have several Scottish songs of the Mal Mariée; they may be indirect or unconscious imitations of the French, but they certainly belong to this type, for a special kind of poetry can grow and spread to different lands almost without the knowledge of individual poets. The simplest type, the wife's overheard complaint, is represented by Clapperton's:

"In Bowdon on blak monunday
Quhen all was gadderit to the play
Byth men and women semblit ȝ air
I heard ane sweit ane sicht and say
Way worth maryage for evermair". (1)

The "sweit ane's" complaint continues quite in the traditional fashion, but with a very satirical bent:

"Thus am I bundin out of blis
On to ane churle sayis I am his
That I dar nocht luik our the stair
Scantlie to gif ssir Johne ane Kis
Wa worth maryage for evirmair".

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(1) In the Maitland Folio MS, ed. W. A. Craigie, S.T.S., Ed. & Lond, 1919 and 1927. (A.20 in Miss Sandison's list.)
The shortened introduction with no description of Spring marks a late and degenerate chanson d'aventure.
"Ssir Johne" is doubtless the usual priest of the satirical fabliaux, who constantly appears as the lover of the faithless wife.

A most unpoetical example, "Be West of late as I dyd walke"[1], describes a violent quarrel between a married couple when the neighbours (quite untraditionally) try to intervene.[2]

In "The Fermorar and his Dochter"[3] the poet, "in ane symmer season", hears the complaint of a maid destined to be married to an old man, and her father's admonitions to her.

Dunbar's "The Tua Mariit Wemen and the Wedo"[4], though it is not a lyric but a long alliterative poem, and although it certainly owes not a little to Chaucer's Wife of Bath and other satires, is nevertheless quite in the tradition of the Chanson de la Mal Mariée.[5]

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(1) In Laing's "Ancient Popular and Romance Poetry of Scotland" (Ed. & London 1885) p.369. (A.9 - Sandison)

(3) Laing, ibid, p.50. (A.2. - Sandison)

(2) Jeanroy would probably call this a purely popular piece, as no doubt it is. See "Origines", p.90.

(4) Dunbar, S.T.S., ed. Vol.II, p.30 (A.45 - Sandison). We find the same type of introduction in the "débat" with which this poem might also be compared. See "La Noire et la Tanné", a long débat between two girls on a subject connected with love. ("Anciennes Poésies françaises des XVe et XVIe siècles", ed. A. de Montaiglon, Paris 1855-1870, vol V, p.258.

(5) Miss Sandison, pp.53-54, says of Dunbar's poem: "it issues directly from a literary line other than that of the chanson d'aventure; for it is an inheritor of the tradition of these mediaeval satires against marriage that culminated in the Prologue of the Wife of Bath. But its structure is not accounted for by any anti-marital satire, whereas it is precisely paralleled among the Old French chansons d'aventure".

The introduction is quite traditional.[1] Dunbar goes out on a Midsummer evening[2] by a green garden hedged with hawthorn. The garden and hawthorn are the traditional French settings.[3] He tells how sweetly the birds sang, and how, like the trouvères, he "drew in derne to the dyk to dirkin eftir myrthis".[4] Then, under the holly, he overhears the talk of the three ladies. He describes them according to custom; they are golden-haired, garlanded and clad in green; they are of high birth, and as they drink their "wicht wyne" they vie with each other in abuse of their husbands. Generally the mal mariée has one one confidante, more experienced, deceitful and foul-mouthed than herself,[5] but Dunbar is not original with his three ladies. One old French chanson describing three young wives, is interesting enough to quote in full:[6]

"Pancis amerouzement
de Tornai parti l'autrier;

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(1) French trouvères rode; English and Scottish poets walked.
(2) Morning is more usual; in the next line, Dunbar says "neir as midnicht wes past" - the ladies' talk really takes place in the early morning.
(3) Hawthorn is the usual French setting. English poets liked holly in a wood. Later Dunbar also mentions holly.
(4) The eavesdropping poet is a feature of the chanson d'aventure which was borrowed by the allegorists. We find it in Froissart's "Paradys d'Amour", and in a modified form in Chaucer's "Legend of Good-Women", and in Gawain Douglas's "Palice of Honour", etc.; See pages 200 & 202.
(5) Like Dunbar's Wedo. See Sandison, p.13. Ex. K. Bartsch, "Altfranzösische Romanzen und Pastourellen" (Leipzig 1870) I, no.67, and 1, no.39.
(6) Bartsch, ibid, I, no 21; anonymous.

"en un pre lons un destour
vi trois dames ombroier,
mariees de novel:
chascune ot un vert chapel.
la moinnee a dit ansi
"je servirai mon mari
lealment en leu d'ami.'
"Li ainnee an ot irour,
se li dit sans atargier
'damedex vos dont mal jour,
nos volez vos asaier?
au cuer ne m'est mie bel'.
dou poing an son haterel
l'ala maintenant ferir.
'je ferai novel ami
an despit de mon mari'.
"La moienne par baudour
fu vestue aytens d'este
d'un riche drap de colour,
d'un vert qui fait a louer.
en avait robe et mentel
et chantoit cest chant novel,
si ke je l'ai bien oi:
's'on trovast leal ami,
ja n'eusse pris mari'."

The grounds of complaint of Dunbar's ladies, though they belong equally to the satirists - they are exemplified very fully in Deschamps' "Le Miroir de Marriage"[1] - are exactly the same as those of the mal mariées of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries - the husband's churlishness, disgusting habits, age and jealousy, the endlessness of the marriage bond and the woman's longing for a young and seemlier lover. Dunbar must have known the French songs well enough. He uses the setting of the chanson d'aventure in other poems,[2] and "The Tua Mariit Wemen and the Wedo" dates from shortly after his wanderings in France.[3] "Taking some song of adventure with 'trois dames mariées de novel' as a basis", says Miss Sandison, "he amplified and modified it, we may conjecture, under the influence of the Wife's famous Prologue. Perhaps as a tour de force he cast the whole into the form of the long alliterative narratives, which were enjoying a considerable vogue in the North in his time; a procedure the more explicable in view of the fact that the alliterative poems commonly open with a nature setting in which the poet appears as narrator".[4]

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(1) in "Les Oeuvres d'Eustache Deschamps", ed. for the S.A.T.F. by le Marquis de Queux de Saint Hilaire (Paris 1878) vol. IX (1894)

(2) "Musing allone this hinder nicht", "The Merle and the Nightingale" and "Ane Brash of Wooing", S.T.S. ed. vol.II, pp.25,24 and 22 respectively.

(3) J. Schipper, "William Dunbar, sein Leben und seine Gedichte", Berlin, 1884, p.135.

(4) Sandison, pp.55 and 56. The return to the nature setting at the end of the poem belongs to the English alliterative tradition, not to the French. p.42, note 85.

Whatever the ingredients, Dunbar has mixed them together with consummate skill. The beauty of the introduction and of the ladies themselves gives an additional sting to the satire of their scurrilous talk, without allowing the contrast between the lyrical mood and the satiric to seem too great. As for the metrical form, Dunbar knew well that nothing can be so effective for forceful, coarse, humorous abuse as alliteration in Middle Scots. His poem is a masterpiece of its kind.

A variant of the same theme gives the lament of the mis-mated husband:

"God gif I were wedo now!" (1)

he cries, and no wonder, poor soul, when we think of ladies such as those in Dunbar's garden!

The lover's complaint, (2) on the other hand, is not so obviously satiric. One Scottish poem of this type has a delightfully lyrical form, not unlike the lilts of French stanzas:

"In May in a morning //
I movit me one
Throw a grene garding//
W^{t} gravis begone
As leid w^{t}out lyking//

(1) "Vnder ane birkin bank me by" in the Maitland Folio MS vol.I, p.244, ed. W.A.Craigie, S.T.S.,1919 and 1927, (Sandison's A.42)

(2) Gaston Paris discusses the knight's lament in "Mélanges" p.550.

but langour allone
for misheifs and m^{r}ning//
makand my mone"..... (1)

In another, the poet meets no less a figure than Pandarus, and enquires wistfully, "quen ladeis to thair luvaris salbe leill". (2) Pandarus gives him a most pessimistic answer. (3)

The other kind of narrative lyric or adventure song is the pastourelle. It has its own characteristic story, a story copied in several English and Scottish poems. None of them however, except Henryson's "Robene and Makyne", has a shepherdess for the heroine, and, while Henryson's poem is like the French pastourelles in its chief figure, it is unlike them in its lack of the conventional narrative introduction told by the poet in person.

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(1) Bannatyne MS, S.T.S. ed. vol.III, p.285, (Sandison's A.21). This poem has a bob and wheel, but no refrain. Another complaint is "Quhen Flora had ourfret þe firth", Bannatyne MS, S.T.S. vol.III, p.262, (Sandison's A.34)

(2) This poem reminds us of a 15th century ballade by Blosseville, which, like it, gives a long list of the impossibilities that must come to pass "Quant tous les amans seront loyaulx". There is nothing about Pandarus in the ballade, nor does Blosseville use the setting of the chanson d'aventure. (G.Raynaud: "Rondeaux et Autres Poésies du XVe siècle publiés d'après le MS de la Bibliothèque Nationale", Paris 1890.

(3) "Furth ouer the mold" by Stewart, rather a rhetorical piece. Bannatyne MS. S.T.S. ed. vol IV, p.40. (Sandison's A.12). Miss Sandison says of this lament group that (p.18) the plaints of the lover are pregnantly courtly, and figures like Pandarus, and the references to Venus, etc., show that they have been influenced by a later type of poetry. They seem, in fact, to be a mixture of the early and of the later allegorical lyrics.

The early French pastourelles nearly all begin in the conventional way:

"L'autrejour me chevachoie".. (1)

The knightly poet tells the story in the first person. He rides out into the fields in Spring and meets a pretty young peasant, usually a shepherdess. Sometimes she is a mere child, sometimes she is waiting for Robin who stays away too long, sometimes she is broken-hearted because Robin has deserted her or will not love her. Whatever her mood, the knight woos her, often successfully, and often with the most unchivalrous promises which he never means to keep. Marion is only a trifling amusement to him, not to be compared with the serious business of love between knight and lady. Much of the point of these poems lay in the rustic manners of the shepherd folk and in Marion's naïve frankness.(2) She was "bele et avenant", the great lady was full of "dangier".

In a few French poems the poet-knight does not appear, but these are generally short and slight. In one or two, Marion is absent, and the knight talks of love with Robin. In the sixteenth century the genre became simply popular and more impersonal, the knight always playing a less and less important

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(1) Bartsch, in many poems, eg. on pp.146, 150, 151, 153, etc. The form, of course, varies.

(2) A. Jeanroy, "Origines", pp.19-22.

part. Even in Adam de la Halle's "Jeu de Robin et Marion"[1] (thirteenth century) the knight's part is subordinate to that of the shepherds, and he is a most unsympathetic figure, routed and mocked by Robin and his friends.[2] Later, Spenser again made the knight the principal figure and the true hero.[3] Among all the extant French pastourelles,[4] not one corresponds exactly to Henryson's "Robene and Makyne". Henryson may have copied some poem now lost, but it seems far more likely that he remade the pastourelle to suit himself, and that the charm of his poem is all his own. He cuts out the figure of the poet-knight and tells none of the story in the first person.[5]

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(1) Adam de la Halle or le Bossu, "Li Gieus de Robin et Marion" ed. E. Langlois, Paris 1924.

(2) E.K. Chambers suggests that the Robin Hood of the May games - a kind of popular dramatic entertainment - was really the Robin of the French pastourelles, confused with the outlaw, ("Mediaeval Stage" I, p.175, Oxford 1903). A. J. Milne, quoting this (in "Mediaeval Plays in Scotland," pp.22-23, St. Andrews Pub. XXIV, Ed.1927) says we cannot tell whether this was so in Scotland; Robin Hood was well known here by the early 15th century, but there is no mention of Maid Marion.

(3) Faerie Queene, Book VI, Canto IX.

(4) All the extant French pastourelles are published by Karl Bartsch in "Altfranzösischen Romanzen und Pastourellen", Leipzig 1870.

(5) Miss Sandison points out that the English poets (like Henryson) are far less self-conscious than the French and prefer to make less of their own rôle in the story. (op. cit. II, p.34, and II, p.41). They were often clerks, not knightly trouvères, and have more sympathy with the common people: "As poets in close touch with the people, they betray no interest in self exploitation and willingly lessen or relinquish their fictitious rôles". (II, p.45). This applies equally well to Henryson.

It would be quite unnatural for Henryson to imagine himself the gallant, heartless trouvère, ready to deceive and desert poor Marion. The shepherds are far more real and human to him than they are to the French poets, and he has to leave his whole canvas free for them.

Makyne, whom he paints with such sympathy and vividness, is also original. When she is in love she is just like any other Marion or Mariote, and her outspoken complaints are the same as theirs:

"My dule in dern bot gif thow dill,
Dowtless but dreid I de" (1)

"j'ai amors qui me tiennent,
elles m'ociront ja," (2)

"Lasse! fait ele en souspirant,
'de duel morrai;
Robin ne m'aime de neant;'" (3)

"j'ai a cuer les malz dont je morrai'". (4)

but in her strong-minded and apparently complete recovery from love, she is quite unconventional and far more vividly

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(1) "Robene and Makyne" in S.T.S. ed. of Henryson, ed. by G. Gregory Smith, Ed. & Lond, 1908, vol.III, p.90.
(2) Bartsch, op. cit. II, no.43.
(3) " " " III " 19.
(4) " " " II " 32.

alive than her French cousins. Makyne has her pride, and in this she is more like the heroines of "gestis and storeis auld" than those of the pastourelles. Nor could it have been among the shepherd folk that she learned the rules of courtly love that she tries to teach to Robin (Stanza III). This stanza is quite unlike the talk of the French shepherdesses, though Provençal, where the heroines are much more sophisticated, might show something like it. Probably Henryson borrowed it from a different kind of poetry - from Chaucer or the allegorists.

Robin is the conventional stupid, backward country fellow. Often, in the French poems, Marion complains of Robin's coldness, and tries to teach him to woo her:

"Marions de joste li l'apelle:
'vien avant, biaus dous amis,
Robin Robin Robin,
esgair con je suix belle!" (1)

"et la bele tout ensi
enprint a chanter
'Robin cui je doi amer,
tu pues bien trop demourer'." (2)

In one poem, Marot, after a vain appeal to Robin, turns

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(1) Bartsch, op. cit. II, no.93.
(2) Bartsch, op. cit. III, no.26.

from him to the knight, and refuses to listen to his subsequent entreaties:

"a Robin Maroie
dist an reproichant
'ameir te souloie;
mais or va ta voie,
n'ai soing de garson'...

'E Marot, par cortoisie je te prie,
mon meffait pardone moi.
je ferai une estampie si jolie;
balle un petit, je t'an proi'." (1)

In a long pastourelle ascribed by Karl Bartsch to Baudes de la Kakerie,(2) Robin is once more taught that

"The man þat will nocht quhen he may
sall haif nocht quhen he wald."

The story has not the beautiful simplicity of Henryson's. It is complicated by the introduction of a third character, not a knight, but a "damoisele". She hears Robin singing of his

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(1) Bartsch, op. cit. II, no.35.
(2) " " " III, no.46. There is some doubt about the authorship. Bartsch may be wrong, for N. Monmerqué and F. Michel print the poem as an appendix to their "Théatre français du Moyen Age" (Paris 1842) and attribute it to Ernous Campains: "Par Ernous Canpains. MS du Roi, no. 184 du supplément français, folio 44 verso. Cette pièce se retrouve dans le MS du Roi No. 7222, folio 99 verso, col.1. Elle est attribuée à Baudes de la Kaherie, tandis que, à la table, on la donne à Jehans Erars". (See page 39).

love for Marot, approaches, and makes love to him herself. Robin will have none of her:

"que qu'ele plore, et cil c'en rit". (l.28)

Marot sees Robin talking to her and runs away crying, "Trahi, trahi!", and although Robin tries to explain, she will have nothing more to do with him. Robin then turns to the "damoisele" whom he had repulsed and prays her to grant him her love. She laughs at him, and tells him that her wooing was only a mockery:

"'d'amer garcon noient ne sai,
bien te gabai quant t'en proiai'."

The stories have some points in common, but neither of the girls is really like Makyne. Still, this situation might have suggested the plan of his poem to Henryson. A comparison of the two poems shows clearly the beauty, sympathy and truth of Henryson's lovely idyll.(1)

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(1) Dr. David Irving writes a charming appreciation of Robene and Makyne in which he says, "The fable is skilfully conducted: the sentiments and manners are truly pastoral; and the diction possesses wonderful terseness and suavity". ("The Lives of the Scotish (sic) Poets", Edinburgh 1804, p.388. Since writing, I have found that W. Powel Jones (Modern Language Notes, vol.XLVI, no.7, Baltimore, Nov.1931, pp.457-58, "A Source for Henryson's 'Robene and Makyne') had already suggested this French poem as the source of "Robene and Makyne". He says: "This is easily recognised as the same situation as in Henryson's poem, except that here the shepherd presumably goes away to tend his flock instead of being drawn away by another girl. There are naturally very few verbal similarities, for Henryson was perhaps the best poet in Britain at the time, but the spirit and setting are the same, and there are even a few parallel expressions. /

Some other Scottish poems belong to the pastourelle tradition, although it is very unlikely that their authors had any clear intention of copying French models.(1a) In two of them the poet, who is certainly not a knight, meets a maiden - not a shepherdess - and woos her in the sudden French fashion. At first she is coy and refuses him, but soon yields, and both pieces end, like so many of the French, with a very frank description of the poet's satisfaction.(2) In another, the poet finds a girl bewailing her lover's betrayal of her, and comforts her in the usual manner. The coy insincerity of these girls is more like the spirit of the French bergerettes than the English chanson d'aventure.(3)

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(1) <u>continued from p. 96</u>. / The wooing of the maidens in the two poems is much of a kind in its enthusiasm....The violence of mockery in the girls' refusal is very similar, although Henryson's language is nearer some of the French folk songs." Mr. Jones, we think, rather exaggerates the similarity. His account of the poem is not quite accurate. The French poem begins with the usual introduction told by the poet himself.

(1.a) "Erle at the day doue" in "Ancient Scottish Melodies", Bannatyne Club, 1838, p.49 (Sandison's A.10) and "In somer quhen flor is will smell" in the Bannatyne MS, S.T.S. ed. vol.III, p.26 (Sandison's A.24). This poem seems particularly close to the French type. It gives a very full description of the "weil faird may" and her dress. It has a bob and wheel but no refrain.

(2) "Be chance bot even this uper day", Bannatyne MS, S.T.S. ed. vol II, p.336 (Sandison's A.6).

(3) H. Sandison, "The Chanson d'Aventure in Middle English", pp.62 and 66.

The tone of the beautiful "Murning Maiden"[1] is quite a contrast.[2] It is clearly akin to the outlaw ballads like the "Nut Brown Maid". It seems to belong to the English, more than to the French, tradition. The scene is in a wood. The maiden whom the poet meets is apparently of the same rank as himself. She is an outlaw, armed with bow and arrows, but she assures him that no wild things are harmed by her. She is mourning a faithless lover and repulses the poet, but he falls on his knees, begging her to have pity on him,and at this she relents. The gentle, chivalrous spirit of this ending is very unlike the coarseness of some of the other chansons d'aventure, nor is it at all like the simple naturalness of "Robene and Makyne".

Dunbar satirises the wooing of two low-born lovers in "Ane Brash of Wooing",[3] and uses the old conventional phrase corresponding to the French "l'autrier" with which nearly all the chansons d'aventure begin:

"In secriet place this hyntir nicht..." (4)

We find the conventional beginning, though not the same phrase, in the opening lines of two of the "Gude and Godlie

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(1) In the Maitland Folio MS, S.T.S. ed. Vol I, p.360. (Sandison's A.36)
(2) Sandison op. cit. p.63.
(3) Dunbar, S.T.S. ed. vol II, p.247 (Sandison's A.23)
(4) cf. The Murning Maiden:
"Still vndir þe levis greene
This hinder day I went alone".
The English phrase is "enders day". - Sandison, p.25.

Ballatis"[1] which are obviously old love songs refashioned.[2] They begin:

"In till ane myrthfull May morning
Quhen Phebus did vp spring:
Walkand I lay, in ane garding gay,
Thinkand on Christ sa fre:...."

and

"Downe be ȝone Riuer I ran,
Downe be ȝone River I ran,
Thinkand on Christ sa fre..."

We need have no doubt that before the Reformation the original author was thinking of something quite different.

The conventional setting of the chanson d'aventure was often used in didactic poems, both north and south of the Border. It often forms the introduction to a débat written in ballade stanzas after the later French style of Deschamps. Birds often take part, and this may have something to do with the bird debate poems, of which "The Owl and the Nightingale"[3] is the most famous. In fact these poems belong as much to

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(1) ed. A. F. Mitchel, S.T.S. 1897, pp.137 and 168. (R.23 & R.16).

(2) See the notes in S.T.S. ed.

(3) ed. by J.E.Wells, Boston 1907 and by J.W.H.Atkins, Cambridge, 1922. See also Kathryn Huganir: "The Owl and the Nightingale, Sources, date and author", Philadelphia, 1931.

the Latin debate form as to the chanson d'aventure. Dunbar's "The Merle and the Nightingale"[1] is a bird debate in a simple lyric form and with the setting of a chanson d'aventure, though its rather aureate diction points to its connection with the court of love and allegoric poems. The merle sings:

"A lusty lyfe in luves service bene"

and from the other side of a river, the nightingale answers:

"All lufe is lost bot vpone God allone".

In "Walking allone among thir levis grene"[2] a bird delivers a moral lecture in a forest setting, and we have another bird's sermon in "Furth throw ane forest as I fure".[3] In a poem only imperfectly preserved,[4] a bird gives advice to a forlorn lover, saying:

"God will be God quhen gold is away"

but also advises the "kynd cheild" how to win back his

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(1) Dunbaf, S.T.S. vol.II, p.174 (Sandison's R.20)

(2) Bannatyne MS. S.T.S. V.II, p.132 " D.36.

(3) The poet returns to the nature setting at the end, in the English alliterative fashion. Bannatyne MS, S.T.S. vol.II, p.109 (Sandison's D.17).

(4) by an unknown "Nicholson",preserved in the Aberdeen registers and printed in "The Miscellany of the Spalding Club", vol II, p.XXVII, note 1. Aberdeen 1842. (Sandison's D.18).

lady.[1] This poem has a double introduction, like "Thomas of Ersyldoune".[2] "In each case the poet represents himself in the first strophe as a singer prepared to offer his song, and begins the proposed song in the second strophe with the formula peculiar to the chanson d'aventure. The form is borrowed direct from over-sea".[3]

The old conventional setting in different forms appears in several didactic ballades - Dunbar's"Musing allone this hinder nicht"[4], Henryson's "In tyl an garth, wndir ane reid roseir"[5], and his "Ressoning Betwix Aige and Zowth"[6] ;

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(1) In Dunbar's poem "All Erdly Joy Returns in Pane" there is not the usual introduction, but a bird preaches the sermon:

"Off Lentren in the first mornyng,
Airly as did the day upspring,
Thus sang ane bird with voce vpplane,
'All erdly joy returnis in pane'".

S.T.S. ed. v.II, p.76.
In a poem attributed to him, we have both the usual introduction and the bird's advice:

"Doun by ane rever as I red",etc.

S.T.S. v.II, p.305 (Sandison's D.2b). The old phrawe "This hinder nycht" is used again by Dunbar in "The Wowing of the King Quhen he wes in Dunfermeling". S.T.S. v.II, p.136.

(2) in D. Laing's "Ancient Popular and Romance Poetry of Scotland", Ed. & London 1885. J. E. Wells (Manual of the Writings in Middle English, New Haven, London & Oxford, 1916, p.224) says that the original was probably Northern English.

(3) Sandison p.42 and note 8 on p.4. Bartsch III,45, I.46, I.66, III.52 and end of I.52.

(4) Dunbar S.T.S. vol II, p.92 (Sandison's M.21)

(5) Henryson S.T.S. vol III,p.106 " D.27

(6) " " " III p.114 " D.31

"Quhen Phebus in the rainie clude"[1], and "Ane aigit man twyss fourty zeiris"[2]. In Henryson's "The Abbay Walk"[3] a sermon on the text:

"Obey and thank thy God of all"

is written on a wall where the poet sees it as he walks up and down, and the Bannatyne MS has,

"Lettres of gold written I fand
Intill a buike was fair to reid". (4)

Similar devices occur in amorous poems, for instance, the engraved gillieflower leaf in "The King's Quair" and its probable prototype in Jean de Condé's thirteenth century poem, "Le Messe des Oiseaux"[5].

All these didactic poems, except Dunbar's are written in the ballade octave with refrain, and obviously belong to a later school of poetry than that of the Troubadours and Trouvères. We find similar conventional settings in the didactic and political ballades of Deschamps, where they have often nothing to do with the subject of the poem and are merely

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(1) Maitland Folio MS, S.T.S. vol II, p.127 (Sandison's D.29)

(2) Bannatyne MS, S.T.S. vol IV, p.46. " D.1.

(3) Henryson S.T.S. vol. III, p.127. " D.13b. Another version of this poem is published in "Anglia" VII, p.306, by H. Varnhagen (Halle 1884).

(4) Bannatyne MS. S.T.S. vol II, p.127 (Sandison's D.29)

(5) See page 175.

adventitious tags. For example:

"En alant jouer a Saint Poul,
Oy deux gens qui arguoient" (1)

or,

"Antre Beau Raym et le parc de Hedin
Ou moys d'aoust qu'on soye les fromens,
M'en aloye joyer par un matin.
Si vi bergiers et bergieres au champs..." (2)

The shepherds are talking not of love, but of the peace with England, and in another ballade, some shepherds discuss the retaking of Calais.(3) Froissart uses the same convention in his pastourelles,(4) and Charles d'Orleans uses the May setting without any narrative or dramatic element, in some of his lyrics, where, as in the Scottish poems, it occurs along with allegorical personifications, for example:

"En ce joyeux temps du jour d'uy
Que le mois de may ce commence,
Et que l'en doit laisser Ennuy,
Pour prandre Joyeuse Plaisance..." (5)

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(1) Eustache Deschamps, ed. by G. Raynaud, vol.III,p.22. "Soc. des Anc. Textes françaises", Paris 1878-1897.
(2) ibid, vol. III, p.62.
(3) " " III, p.93.
(4) Published by K.Bartsch in "Altfr.Romanzen und Pastourellen".
(5) Charles d'Orleans, ed. P.Champion vol I,p.34, Classiques français du Moyen Age, 34, Paris 1923, Ballade XVII, vol.1, See Sandison, p.18.

Later still in the sixteenth century we find the same type of setting tacked on to some Scottish political poems, where, as in Deschamps, it has really no connection with the subject.[1] May had become simply a meaningless commonplace, or had been replaced by some reference to a certain day or place with no political significance. All this was the outcome of the old French chanson d'aventure.

Other Provençal and Old French types of poetry left their mark on Middle Scots, and that peculiar Scottish production the "Flyting" has some connection, even though it may not be a close one, with the work of the Troubadours.

"The Flyting of Dunbar and Kennedy"[2] is the earliest[3]

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(1) in J. Cranstoun's "Satirical Poems of the Time of the Reformation", S.T.S. Ed. & London, 1891.
Vol.I, p.31: "To Edinburgh about vj houris at morne,
As I was passand, pansand, out the way,
Ane bony boy was soir makand his mone;
His sory sang was oche and wallaway!.."
p.57: "Not lang ago, as I allone did walk
Intill ane place was pleasand to behauld
Twa leirnit men in privie I hard talk
And eich of thame his taill in order tauld.."
p.117: "With hauie hart, on Snadoun hill,
Ane ȝoung King I hard schoutand schill.."
p.170: "In Mayis moneth, mening na dispyte,
Quhen luiffaris dois thair daylie observance".
p.193: "Snawdoun syde" (i.e. Stirling) is again the the scene of the poet's meditation, which is interrupted by the appearance of a "pietous spreit". This poem is, like the last one quoted, by Robert Sempill.

(2) Dunbar, S.T.S. ed. vol.II,p.11. Probably written in 1504 or 1505. See Æ.J.G.Mackay's introd. vol.I, p.cxiii. J.Schipper analyses and rearranges the Flyting in his edition of Dunbar (Vienna 1894) pp.144-149.

(3) J. Schipper, ibid, p.140.

example in Scots of this curious mock poetic duel, in which two poets take it in turn to insult and slander each other, employing all the resources of their pungent vocabulary and their extravagant imaginations. Nothing so full of vitality as this Flyting could fail to be popular. The form was often imitated. James V wrote a flyting to Lindsay,(1) who replied in a suitable strain of coarse but tactful raillery. Montgomerie indulged in a long flyting with Polwart,(2) and James VI, in his "Reulis and Cautelis", cites a stanza of it as a pattern of the kind. There must have been many more, for James speaks of the Flyting as a well established genre, prescribing its correct prosody - "Rouncefallis or Tumbling verse".(3) Allan Ramsay has preserved in his "Evergreen" a flyting between a "Tailzior" and a "Soutar" written by Stewart,(4) but this, being the work of only one poet, is not the true form. Finally the game outgrew its popularity and the Kirk Session of Glasgow had to order the jougs and branks to be fixed up in a suitable place for

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(1) The king's poem is lost, but Lindsay's answer is extant. "The Works of Sir David Lindsay", ed. D. Laing, Ed. 1871, vol I, p.105.

(2) "The Poems of Alexander Montgomerie", supplementary volume ed. G. Stevenson, S.T.S. Ed. & Lond. 1910, p.129.

(3) James VI: "The Essayes of a Prentise in the Divine Art of Poesie", ed. R.P.Gillies, Edinburgh 1814, p.Miiij.

(4) Glasgow, 1875, vol I, p.118.

the punishment of flyters.[1]

The later poems were undoubtedly copied from Dunbar, but it is unlikely that Dunbar's work was wholly original, even although the instinct to which it gives such a delightfully satisfying expression be a fundamental one.

Æ. Mackay, in his preface to Dunbar, is at pains to point out that invectives are found in almost all literatures.[2] Greeks, Latins, Italians, French, Norse and Celts indulged in them, and it is only with the decay of manners in modern times that the honourable practice has fallen into disuse. Mackay gives the palm to the Celtic bards; they "were specially fond of this kind of satire, and their verses were said 'to blister the face'".[3] Perhaps Kennedy learned from them, but it is unlikely that Dunbar, that rabid Lowlander, did so. Poggio, Luigi Pulci and Matteo Franco, are cited as patterns by Schipper[4] and by Brotanek.[5] The two latter

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(1) R. Brotanek: "Untersuchungen über das Leben und Dichtungen Alexander Montgomeries" in "Wiener Beiträge zur Englischen Philologie", ed. by J. Schipper; (Vienna and Leipzig 1896) p.93. Brotanek also cites as examples of the flyting a poem from Watson's"Choice Collection", II, 54 and also "Sir Thomas Maitland's Satyr upon Sir Niel Lang", and Robert Sempill's "Legend of a lymmeris lyfe". op. cit. p.104.

(2) Æ.J.G. Mackay, introd. to Dunbar, S.T.S. ed. vol I, pp.cix-cxi.

(3) Mackay, op. cit. vol I, pp.cix-cxi.

(4) J. Schipper's ed. of Dunbar, p.140.

(5) R. Brotanek op. cit. pp.100-103. There are some traces of Ovid's "Ibis", he says, (p.111) in the "Flyting of Montgomerie and Polwart".

carried on a war of words in alternate sonnets, but nowhere except in France do we find the exact form of the Flyting - an invective dialogue between two poets.

For this reason Schipper and Brotanek derive the Flyting from Provençal and French models.(1) The Italians may have lent a little venom, a neat insult or two to the subject matter. "One source of the English and Scottish flyting is undoubtedly to be sought in the jeux-partis and serventois of French literature"(2), but the immediate stimulus for the first English (i.e., Scottish) flyting was the invectives of Poggius Florentinus: "In Felicem Antipapam", "In Philelphum" and "In Laurentium Vallam".(3) Poggio was well known in England and Scotland, and is mentioned by name by Skelton and by Gavin Douglas.(4) Brotanek gives parallel passages from Poggio and Dunbar, and sums up his view as follows:

> "In fact it can be said that the first English (i.e., Scottish) flyting goes back to two foreign sources; to the French jeu-partis and serventois on the one hand, to the wrangling of the Italian humanists on the other. The first may have had

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(1) Schipper's ed. of Dunbar, pp.140-141.
(2) Brotanek op. cit. p.97.
(3) " " " pp.100-101.
(4) G. Stevenson, "Montgomerie's Poems", suppl. vol. p.348. Douglas's "Palice of Honour" in J. Small's ed. vol.I, p.47, l.13. Ed. 1874. Gian Frencesco Poggio Braccionlini lived from 1380-1459.

Such debates could be either "real" - that is, the work of two poets,-or "feigned" - the work of one.[1] The "real"[2] Provençal tenso is the oldest form of all the vernacular débat poetry.[3] One of the oldest dates from 1137. The tenso could treat of the poets' love affairs, of politics, or of their personal characters.[4] The personal type is a dialogue of mock insults, exactly the same form as the Flyting. It was invented, without classical precedent, by the Provençals,[5] and is not found in Northern French.[6] The earliest example of this particular form is a twelfth century tenso by Aldric and Marcabrun,[7] and in the thirteenth century the fashion reached its height.

> "Cette forme toute particulière de la tenson... subsista assez longtemps en Provence: c'est ainsi que Richard Coeur de Lion et le Dauphin d'Auvergne, que Peire Rogier et Rambaut d'Orange.. échangent des pièces de rythme identique, où la lutte n'est pas toujours très courtoise". (8)

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(1) like "The Flyting of Dunbar and Kennedy".
(2) like Stewart's flyting in the "Evergreen", see page 105.
(3) between Cercamon and Guilhalmi, not invectives; Jeanroy, op. cit. p.301.
(4) H. Knobloch: "Die Streitgedicht im Provenzalischen und Altfranzösichen" (Breslau 1886) p.14.
(5) ibid, p.4 and L.Selbach "Das Streitgedicht in der Altprovenzalischen Lyrik" (Marburg 1884) p.4.
(6) Jeanroy, "Origines", pp.49-50. Knobloch, op.cit. p.52.
(7) ibid, pp.49-50.
(8) ibid.

Not only princes, but troubadours of every class produced such poems,[1] which, like the Flyting, but unlike the sirventes,[2] never had a character of serious hostility.

There were many varieties of the tenso, one of which was the "Partimen" (Provençal) or "Jeu-parti" (O. French). Here one poet proposes a question and asks his friend to choose and defend one side of the argument while he himself defends the other. Both poets appeal to friends who give judgment at the end of the poem.[3] This kind of debate probably formed the link between the Provençal invective tenso and the Scottish flyting,[4] though the exact form of the partimen is found only in Provençal and Old French.[5]

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(1) Selbach, op. cit. p.3.

(2) ibid, p.53; A. Jeanroy, "La Tenson Provençale" in "Annales du Midi", Toulouse 1890, Oct. p.452.

(3) Knobloch, op.cit. pp.5-6.

(4) See page 112.

(5) Selbach, op. cit. p.4.
It is incontestable that most of these Provençal poems were each composed by two poets. They are often mentioned in that not very reliable source book, the Provencal "Lives of the Troubadours" and were immensely popular. Selbach gives a long list of what he aptly calls "Streitgedichte". (op. cit, pp.15-20 and p.54). See Jeanroy, "La Tenson Provençale", op. cit. pp.441-444. "The Lives of the Troubadours" are translated by J. Farnell, London, 1896.

A few examples will show the similarity between the Provençal "streitgedichte" and the Scottish flytings. Bernart de Ventadorn jibes at Peirol who had failed to produce new love songs in Spring;(1) Rainol accuses Maigret of drunkenness: "Whoever seeks you", says he, "may find you by the barrel with the stoup, for you always pitch your tent where you smell out the tavern".(2) Cattle lifting is a favourite accusation, and the practice was by no means confined to our Highlands and Borders. Meyer quotes from a poem by Bertran d'Aurel and Augier:

> "Bertran, vous qui alliez habituellement avec les larrons, enlevant boeufs, boucs, chèvres, moutons, porcs, poules, oies, chapons, vous qui avez été glouton et voleur, dites-moi votre avis: quel métier est le plus honteux: celui de jongleur ou celui de larron?" (3)

Bertran, perhaps in difficulties over a poetical counterblast, replies that he prefers the trade of thief. These were a low class of troubadours, from the wild border land in the north of Italy. Rambaut of Vaquieras similarly accuses

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(1) K. Bartsch, "Chrestomathie Provençale", p.141. Elberfeld, 1868. Cited by Knobloch, op.cit. p.15.

(2) Knobloch op. cit. pp.16-17, quoting the poem from Mahn: "Die Werke der Troubadours", Berlin 1846-55, p.956.

(3) Brotanek, op. cit. pp.97-98, and Paul Meyer in Romania, vol.X, Paris 1881, p.261.

Albert of Malaspina of having robbed on the highway, while the latter scorns Rambaut on account of his poverty.(1) Similar subjects can be found amongst the Northern French jeux-partis, which, although mainly impersonal and abstract, do sometimes become abusive.(2)

The Jeu-parti has a more demonstrable connection with the Flyting, than have any of the other forms. Dunbar, it will be remembered, sends the first instalment of his flyting to "Schir Johne the Ross",(3) and Kennedy likewise has a second whom he calls "my cousing Quintene and my commissar".(4) These two persons who are only mentioned incidentally as a kind of reserve force behind the poets, are, according to Brotanek, directly borrowed from the French jeu-parti. They are the equivalents of the French umpires, called in, as in the classical pastoral, to give judgment on the poets' arguments.(5)

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(1) Brotanek, op.cit, p.97. Quoting from Brinkmeyer's "Die provenzalische Troubadours", 1844.
(2) Brotanek, op. cit, p.97, gives examples.
(3) The Flyting, S.T.S. ed. of Dunbar, vol. II, p.11, l.1.
(4) " " " " " " vol. II, p.12, l.34. "Thy commissar Quintyne", p.15, l.131 and "Pass to my commissar, and be confest", p.22, l.329. Quentin was also a victim, for both he and Kennedy had annoyed Dunbar by their boastful style, p.11, ll.1-2.
(5) "A practice of the English and Scottish flytings, which seems to me to come undoubtedly from French models, is the introduction of the so-called "commissars" whose prototypes are certainly to be sought in the impartial judges of the jeux-partis. They have no connection with the economy of the flyting, and are perfectly useless ornaments of the English and Scottish poems. I can explain their rôle in no other way than as a direct borrowing from the French and Provençal poems, where the umpires play an equally superfluous part" - Brotanek, op.cit. p.99. He gives examples from "The Flyting of Dunbar and Kennedy" and from Skelton. There may possibly be a connection between the umpires of the/

Dunbar, as usual, did not keep close to the metrical form of his French or Provençal models. He and Kennedy start in orthodox iambics (ballade stanzas) but race away into the alliterative "tumbling verse" recommended by King James. The abundant internal rhymes might possibly be fitted into the rules of the French Rhétoriqueurs, but they have nothing to do with the lyric forms of the Troubadours. Besides, the latter generally confined themselves to six strophes only, all in the same form.(1) Dunbar and Kennedy keep to the same, or practically the same, form of stanzas throughout the poem, but Montgomerie and Polwart vary theirs considerably.

It is impossible to say whether Dunbar knew the Provençal tenso as well as the French serventois and jeu-parti. The borrowed "commissars" indicate that his models were probably French. There may have been French or Latin flytings which are lost to us now. Even though Dunbar was perfectly capable of inventing enough invectives to fill half-a-dozen flytings, it now seems much more likely that he borrowed the form from abroad.

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(5) continued from page (112).
partimen and the umpires in the classical eclogues, but but there is really no evidence on the subject, and the influence of classical poetry on Provençal is a very debatable point.

(1) Knobloch, op. cit, pp.5-6 and 9.

One other beautiful old lyric form, the "Aube" has left a very meagre trace in Scotland. It is a song on the parting of lovers at daybreak, and often reached a note of rare lyrical beauty, as, for example, in this:

"En un vergier sotz fuella d'albespi
Tenc la dompna son amic costa si,
Tro la gayta crida que l'alba vi.
Oy Dieus, Oy Dieus, de l'alba! tan tost ve.

"Plagues a Dieu ja la nueitz non falhis
Ni-l mieus amicx lonc de mi no·s partis
Ni la gayta jorn ni alba no vis!
Oy Dieus, oy Dieus, de l'alba! tan tost ve.

"Bels doux amicx, baizem nos yeu e vos
Avel els pratz, on chanto·l auzellos,
Tot o fassam en despiez del gilos.
Oy Dieus, oy Dieus, de l'alba! tan tost ve..." (1)

Sometimes the lark takes the place of the watcher on the tower whose duty it is to warn the lovers at dawn, and the bird is chidden for singing too early. (2) The cock also may take part:

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(1) J. Audiau, "Novelle Anthologie des Troubadours", Paris 1928, p.241. The poem is anonymous.

(2) "Wilt thou be gone? it is not yet near day:
It was the nightingale and not the lark,
That pierced the fearful hollow of thine ear".
- Romeo and Juliet, Act III, sc.2.

"N'ont pas resté quart d'heure ensemble,
le coq i chante la miñuit.
'Le coq chante la miñuit, mon bel ami,
Je le voudrais sopre rôti; l'avoir ici.'

"N'ont pas resté le quart d'une autre,
l'alovette chante le jour:
'Alovette, tu m'as trompé, tu m'as trahi,
Tu as chanté le point du jour,
il est que minuit.'" (1)

Our one poor shred of a Scottish aube is found among the ballads. It echoes the French idea. It is called "The Grey Cock":

"Flee, flee up, my bonny grey cock,
And craw whan it is day;
Your neck shall be like the bonny beaten gold,
And your wings of the silver grey'".

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(1) Victor Smith: "Vielles Chansons du Velay et du Forez" in Romania, vol. VII, 1878, p.56, Stanzas 4 and 5.
See Child vol. IV, pp.339-390, where he notes several other French parallels; also vol V, p.302.
This ballad is copied in "Willie's Fatal Visit", (no.255, vol.IV, p.415) an inferior and composite ballad.

The cock prov'd false, and untrue he was,
For he crew an hour oer soon;
The lassie thought it day when she sent her love away,
And it was but a blink of the moon". (1)

The ballad is a modern eighteenth century piece, but it shows that the aube was known in Scotland, and had no doubt been sung there since the Middle Ages.

The stanzas of the troubadours must be left over for another chapter, but we can now see that the Old French lyric, directly and indirectly, formed a large part of the poetic background of the Scottish poets. Much of their work must be lost, but enough is left to show that when they wrote, as Alan Breck would say, "just about what songs are about in general" they often wrote in the bygone fashions of the troubadours.

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(1) F.J.Child: "English and Scottish Popular Ballads", Boston and New York, 1882, vol IV, No.248, pp.389-90. Child calls it a descendant of an aube.

C H A P T E R III.

DUNBAR.

Dunbar has often been called the greatest of the Makars, and though some may think that Henryson is a truer poet there really can be no question of Dunbar's greatness and originality.[1] His own personality is so rich and vital that he has no need to model himself on his predecessors. He can use them without allowing them to dominate his own genius. He pays eloquent tribute to Chaucer[2] without being almost completely under his influence as were James I and Henryson. He can study the style and metre of the French poets without copying them slavishly. As Dr. Mackay says, he owed more of a debt to the French than to the English poets, though he never mentions the former in his work.[3] It is certain that Dunbar travelled in France and must have known its literature well.

Henryson, apart from his poems, is practically unknown

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(1) Dunbar has been severely disparaged quite recently by Rachel Annand Taylor, in "Dunbar, the Poet and his Period", (London 1931). Though her criticism is very suggestive, Dunbar, we think, can survive the ordeal.

(2) Dunbar, S.T.S., vol.II, p.10, "The Goldyn Targe", ll.253-61.

(3) " " vol.I, Introd. p.cxlvii.

to us, but there are more ample, though still scanty enough, records of Dunbar's life.(1) He was probably born about 1460, the year of the death of James II, and lived till some time after Flodden. He was apparently a native of Lothian, and was aggressively proud of his Lowland birth. There are no records of his early education, but from childhood he was destined for the Church. He is thought to have been the Dunbar who was registered as a Bachelor of Arts in St. Andrews' University in 1477, and as a Master in 1479. Whether he really became a Franciscan novice, as is generally believed, has recently been questioned.(2) If he did so, it must have been at this time, when he wandered through England and France in the friar's weed. He visited France again, probably on a royal embassy, but his early travels, at a more impressionable age, no doubt left a deeper mark on his character and writings.

Dunbar, the real or pretended begging friar, seems to have been little different from the brethren who are constantly satirised in the fabliaux. Even if we discount Kennedy's jibes in "The Flyting", we have Dunbar's own humorous testimony:

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(1) ibid, life by AE. Mackay, pp.xv-lxxii of introduction, vol.I, and J. Schipper, "William Dunbar, sein Leben und sein Gedichte", Berlin 1884. See, for the latest account, W. Mackay Mackenzie's Introduction to his edition of Dunbar. (Edinburgh 1932).

(2) See W. Mackay Mackenzie's Introduction to Dunbar, p.xxi.

"Als lang as I did beir the freiris style,
In me, God wait, wes mony wrink and wyle;
In me wes falset, with every wicht to flatter,
Quhilk mycht be flemit with na haly watter;
I wes ay reddy all men to begyle". (1)

Even if Dunbar travelled later as an official clerk or ambassador, which seems most probable, he knew a very different sort of wandering, in which he must have come into contact with a curiously mixed company - friars, students, adventurers, the "Wandering Scholars" of the fifteenth century. Surely these wanderings, of which we know so little and can guess so much, must go far to account for the Goliardic quality of his work.

Dunbar is thought to have been on an embassy to France in 1491 (2) and on another to London in 1501-2. Thereafter he remained in the royal service, though he was never rewarded

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(1) Dunbar, S.T.S., ed. vol II, p.132, "How Dunbar wes desyrd to be ane freir", ll.41-45.

(2) "Assuming that he then, (1491) if not earlier, visited France and Paris, the importance of the visit to his poetic training cannot be doubted. Although the masters he recognises by name are the earlier English poets of the end of the fourteenth and beginning of the fifteenth century - Chaucer, Gower, and Lydgate, the Monk of Bury - his poems show that he was directly influenced by the French school, not merely at second hand through imitation of English authors who copied a still earlier French poetry". AE. Mackay's Introduction to Dunbar, S.T.S., vol. I, p.xxviii.
The evidence for these journeys is doubtful. See W.M. Mackenzie's Introduction to Dunbar, and appendix C. (Edinburgh 1932).

with the benefice for which he begged so assiduously.

Yet, though Dunbar owed as much or more to French as to English literary fashions and traditions, he is so original a writer, at least according to mediaeval standards, that there is not much of which we can say definitely that it comes from any particular French author. The French influence was vague and general; Dunbar used these fashions as he would; they did not master him. The inevitable comparison with Villon shows no personal contact, but rather the similarity of the literary traditions which both poets inherited.

Like Villon, Dunbar wrote in two different styles, ceremonious and familiar. His ceremonial poems include the allegories, "The Thistle and the Rose"[1], "The Goldyn Targe"[2], "The Dream"[3], the formal and stilted "Sen that I am a Presoneir"[4], and "To a Ladye"[5], the two eulogies on Lord Bernard Stewart[6], and the complimentary verses on London[7], if these are his, and on Aberdeen[8]. All these bristle with Latinised aureate diction. They are like robes of ceremony

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(1) Dunbar, S.T.S. ed. vol.II, p.48

(2) ibid, p.1.

(3) ibid, p.275.

(4) ibid, p.146.

(5) ibid, p.223.

(6) ibid, p.59 and p.63.

(7) ibid,p.276, See App. C in Mackenzie's edition, p.240.

(8) ibid, p.251.

hard and glittering with jewels, so stiff with embroidery and gilt thread that they hide the form of the man beneath. Similarly, Villon could, when he cared, assume a formal style for certain occasions. Dunbar, who was a real courtier, did it better.

The aureate style was in full bloom in France. In the "Goldyn Targe", Dunbar speaks of Chaucer, Gower and Lydgate as his models, but Chaucer by this time was already a classic, and the up-to-date models which a courtier poet must follow if he were to be in the fashion were the Grands Rhétoriqueurs.(1) The allegories, in spite of their aureate rhetoric, are made up of old traditional materials in such common use that they are not stamped as the property of any particular poet. In "The Goldyn Targe" Dunbar assiduously copies both parts of the "Roman de la Rose",(2) and the "Thistle and the Rose" is certainly modelled mainly on Chaucer's "Parlement of Foules". Its plan is not that of a true allegory, but the more superficial symbolism of heraldry.(3) This heraldic symbolism had

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(1) The best account of the Rhétoriqueurs is by H. Guy: "Histoire de la poésie française au XVIe siècle. L'école des Rhétoriqueurs", Paris 1910.

(2) not closely, but in its general ideas. There are more resemblances to Chaucer's part A of the "Romaunt of the Rose" than to the later parts.

(3) Holland, in "The Buke of the Howlat", written about 1450, has a long reference to heraldic arms, but his poem is not built on an heraldic plan, as Dunbar's is. (published by the S.T.S. Ed. & London, 1897, in "Scottish Alliterative Poems", ed. F.J. Amours.)

been used by Georges Chastellain (1405-1475), the Burgundian court poet and chronicler, and it is typical of the methods of the Rhétoriqueurs. In his "Epistre au bon duk Philippe de Bourgogne", Chastellain describes the Duke as:

"Lyon bandé de riche lyoison
D'or et d'asur, qui de lis reflamboye..." (1)

similarly, Dunbar describes the Scottish lion, representing James IV, in heraldic terms:

"Lusty of schaip, lycht of deliuerance,
Reid of his cullour, as is the ruby glance;
On field of gold he stude full mychtely,
With flour delycis sirculit lustely." (2)

In Chastellain's elaborate Ballade in praise of Charles the Bold of Burgundy, the refrain is:

"Lyon rampant en crouppe de montaigne" (3)

and there are other examples of this heraldic imagery.(4)

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(1) Oeuvres de Georges Chastellain, ed. by M. le baron Kervyn de Lettenhove, Brussels 1867, vol VI, p.147.

(2) Dunbar, S.T.S. vol II, p.186, "The Thistle and the Rose", ll.95-98.

(3) Chastellain, vol.VII, p.207, "Le Lyon Rampant".

(4) eg. "L'Arrest du Roy des Romains" (par Maximien 1508) in "Anciennes Poésies françaises des XVe et XVIe siècles", ed. by A. de Montaiglon, Paris 1855-1870, vol.VI, p.120.

Even Dunbar's allegories are not entirely conventional. Chastellain would never have argued with May on the weather forecast as does Dunbar:

"Quhairto", quod I, "sall I vpryss at morrow,
For in this May few birdis herd I sing?
Thai haif moir causs to weip and plane thair sorrow,
Thy air it is nocht holsum nor benyng;
Lord Eolus dois in thy sessone ring;
So busteous ar the blastis of his horne,
Amang thy bewis to walk I haif forborne". (1)

There is a reality about the Scottish poet's descriptions of the seasons which we do not find in the French of this period. In Scotland, the seasons are still natural forces, not wholly changed into allegorical personifications, and, though Dunbar speaks of the sun as "Phebus..in purpur cape revest", (2) he never goes to such lengths as the French rhetoricians. (3)

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(1) "The Thistle and the Rose", ll.29-35, Dunbar's vol.II, p.184. Douglas treats the Scottish Spring in a similarly elaborate fashion. See page 193.

(2) "The Goldyn Targe", l.7, Dunbar vol. II, p.1.

(3) for example, the passage quoted from Octavien de Saint Gelais, on page 193.

One feels that Dunbar, even at his most courtly, is always ready, like Chaucer, to burlesque his models, and to show up the hollowness of the literary conventions by a touch of realism or a flash of humour. Douglas treats them much more respectfully, and the Rhétoriqueurs themselves were perfectly serious.

Dunbar's eulogistic style is that of the French and Burgundian court poets. Chastellain made a specialty of elaborate eulogy.(1) In Dunbar's familiar begging poems we have the counterpart to this serious style. They are written in a tone which the Dukes of Burgundy would probably not have tolerated, and in his references to the Queen, Dunbar's homely Scottish humour is very different from the witty gallantry with which the French poets were accustomed to beg the favour of princesses.(2) Throughout Dunbar's work, even at its more formal moments, we find the reality and intimacy which Professor Gregory Smith thinks typically Scottish.(3)

The New Year poem is an example of a custom common in France.(4) Deschamps has a New Year Ballad, and Christine

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(1) eg. "Le Thrône Azure", vol VI, p.133, "Epistre au bon duc Philippe de Bourgogne", p.147, vol VI, etc.,etc.

(2) eg. "Le Premier Epistre de l'Amant Vert", by Lemaire de Belges; ed. by Paul Spaak in "Jean Lemaire de Belges, sa vie, son oeuvre et ses meilleures pages", Paris 1926, p.206. Lemaire is also edited complete by J.Stecher, Louvain,1882.

(3) G.Gregory Smith, "Scottish Literature", London 1919,ch.I.

(4) Oeuvres d'Eustache Deschamps, ed. G.Raynaud, S.A.T.F. 1878-97, vol V,p.181, "Balade qui parle des estraines du jour de l'an". Jean Regnier wrote a New Year ballade to all those who would help him to freedom. ("Les Fortunes et Adversitez de Jean Regnier", ed. E.Droz (Soc.Anc.T.Fr). Paris 1923, p.122).

de Pisan presented several of her patrons with such literary "estreines".(1) Her style is much simpler than that of the Rhétoriqueurs, but is not unlike Dunbar's.

The few amorous poems are formal and stilted. The French courtly love tradition is quite unsympathetic to the Scottish Makar. They remind one of Villon's competition piece, "Je meurs de seuf aupres de la fontaine", where a courtly love theme is so irksome to the realist that he turns it into a begging poem.(2) Dunbar's view of women was not that of the courtly idealists like Alain Chartier, but rather that of Villon and the fabliaux writers.

At the other extreme from his formal verse, stand Dunbar's satires and parodies, "The Tua Mariit Wemen and the Wedo", "The Flyting", "The Testament of Mr. Andro Kennedy", "Kynd Kittok", "The Dregy" and others. In contrast to these we have his genuinely serious work - the penitent reaction - "The Lament for the Makaris" and the despondent poems on the uncertainly of life and fortune; and there are, in a happier

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(1) Christine de Pisan, ed. by M. Roy, S.A.T.F. Paris 1886.
Autres Ballades XVI, (vol I,) "A Charles d'Albret, Connétable de France", p.225.
XVIII, "A la reine Isabelle de Bavière", p.227.
XIX, "A Louis de France, duc d'Orléans", p.228;
XX, "A Marie de Berry, comtesse de Menpensier", p.229;
XXI, "A Charles d'Albret", p.231.
cf. Dunbar, "A New Year's Gift to the King", vol II, p.256.
We might compare Christine's ballade XXIX, "Au duc d'Orléans sur le combat de sept Francais contre sept Anglais", (19 mai 1402) p.240, with Dunbar's poems on Lord Bernard Stewart, (p.59 and p.63), vol II).

(2) F. Villon; Ballade VII, "du concours de Blois" in "The Works of François Villon", ed. G. Atkinson, (London 1930), p.212.

key, the religious hymns. In these pieces Dunbar does not copy the fifteenth century rehtorical school, but works, without direct imitation, in an older tradition, in the goliardic style of the "Wandering Scholars".

"The Tua Mariit Wemen and the Wedo" and the "Flyting" make use in a new way of Old French lyric forms;[1] the Testament, though not a troubadour type, was a well-worn genre. Dunbar's "Testament of Mr. Andro Kennedy"[2] belongs not to the class of long elaborate self-revealing poems like Villon's, but rather to the humorous songs of the Goliards.[3] Andro Kennedy is of close kin to the mysterious "arch poet" who sang:

"Meum est propositum in taberna mori:
vinun sit appositum morientis ori,
ut dicant cum venerint angelorum chori,
'Sit Deus propitius huic potatori!'" (4)

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(1) See chapter II, pages 88ff, 104ff.

(2) Dunbar, S.T.S. vol II, p.54.

(3) B. ten Brink in his "Geschichte der Englischen Litteratur" (Strasburg, 1877, p.426) says that the Testament of Mr. Andro Kennedy" reminds one of the best poetry of the wandering scholars. See Helen Waddell's "The Wandering Scholars", London 1927, and "Mediaeval Latin Lyrics", Lond. 1929.

(4) "The Latin Poems commonly attributed to Walter Mapes", ed. Thomas Wright, Camden Soc. no.15, London 1841, p.73. From the "Confessio Goliae", pp.71-75.

Dunbar's "Testament" is in form like the drinking songs of the goliardic tradition.(1) Tags of Latin, such as he uses, were popular amongst the irreverent students who good-naturedly parodied the services of the Church. Nothing was safe from their joyful blasphemies; they would make of a "prosa" of St. Bernard a drinking song fit for Kennedy himself:

"Or hi parra,
La cerveyse nos chantera:
Alleluia!
Qui que onkes en beyt,
Si tel seyt com estre doit,
Res miranda!

Bevez quant l'avez lu poin;
Ben en droit, car nuit est loing,
Sol de stella.
Bevez bien e bevez bel,
Il vos vendra del tonel
Semper clara..." (2)

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(1) "a short goliardic piece, highly spiced, but not advancing beyond the vulgar convention". "A Survey of Burlesque and Parody in English", Dr. George Kitchen (Edinburgh and London, 1931) p.26.

(2) G. Thurau: "Der Refrain in der französischen Chanson", Litterarhistorische Forschungen, Heft XXIII, Berlin 1901, p.261. Also in Leroux de Lincy's "Recueil de Chants Historiques français depuis le XIIe jusqu'au XVIIIe siècle", Paris 1841, vol I, p.XXXVI. This is not the true Macaronic style in which the vernacular words have Latin terminations. (See D. Irving: "History of Scottish Poetry", Edinburgh 1861, p.250.)

Montaiglon's collection of fifteenth and sixteenth century French poems, mostly satiric, is full of such parodies. "Tastevin, Roi des Pions", who says:

"J'ordonne et veulx ma sepulture
Auprès de taverne la belle", (1)

is a French Andro Kennedy. In the same collection we have a "Testament d'un amoureux"(2), the "Testament de Martin Luther"(3), the "Testament de Capitaine Ragot"(4), and the "Testament de ville de Gynes"(5). No doubt there were many other short parodies in this form, from which Dunbar might have borrowed the idea of his "Testament". Besides these,

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(1) "Le Testament de Tastevin, Roi des Pions"; "Anciennes Poésies françaises des XVe et XVIe siècles", ed. A. de Montaiglon, Paris 1855-1870, vol.III, p.78. (Its date is 1488) Campeaux, "François Villon, sa vie et ses oeuvres", Paris 1859, p.278. See page 234 on the origin of the literary testament - a well established genre.

(2) "Anciennes Poésies françaises", vol.IV, p.193.

(3) ibid, vol I, p.194.

(4) ibid, vol.V, p.147.

(5) ibid, vol.IV, p.314.

we have the longer, more personal poems which were the forerunners, perhaps the models, of Villon's "Lais" and "Testement".[1] To these, we shall have to return later; they have nothing to do with Dunbar's parody, and there is no evidence that Dunbar copied Villon himself.

Dunbar entered into the fun of the religious parodies with his usual zest, and his "Dregy"[2] is one of the very best of the kind. The humour of its sonorous metrical reverberations is quite irresistible, a humorous quality which no one else could have taught Dunbar.

The parodying of Church services was popular in France and had spread to England. The usual practice was to substitute Venus for the Virgin, the love of woman for the love of God. The poets did not intend to be particularly irreverent; they borrowed the forms most familiar to them, to lend grace and point to their secular subjects, and besides, courtly love was itself a religion. The most notable of such poems is the thirteenth century "Messe des Oiseaux" by Jean de Condé,[3] where the forms of the whole mass are transferred to the praise of Venus.

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(1) See page 234ff.

(2) Dunbar, S.T.S. ed. vol II, p.112.

(3) in "Dits et Contes de Badouin de Condé et de son fils Jean de Condé", ed. A. Scheler, Brussels, 1866, vol III, p.1. See W. A. Neilson, "The Origins and Sources of the Court of Love", Boston 1899, pp.67-69, 225-227.

An English "Venus Masse" has been ascribed to Lydgate[1] and the idea was an important part of the courtly love cult of the allegorists.[2] Less famous poets made shorter parodies of various prayers and offices, often preserving the original Latin lines and writing a long gloss around each one, very far from the spirit of the original. W.A. Neilson gives a list of burlesque paternosters and credos,[3] and there are many fifteenth century examples in Montaiglon's collection,[4] as well as a "De Profundis" and three accounts of "saints" - "St. Ognon" and "St. Raisin" and"St. Harenc", with their martyrdoms and miracles.[5]

In the "Dregy", Dunbar touches on the food and drink question, which, next to love-making, was the favourite topic of the parodists, but his personal use of the burlesque form is,

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(1) edited for the Early Eng. Text Society, 1879, by T.F.Simmons, in "The Lay Folks' Mass Book", appendix V, p.389. See E.P. Hammond, "English Verse between Chaucer and Surrey", pp.207 ff. (London 1927). She thinks the "Mass" is not by Lydgate.

(2) Both Dunbar (in the "Goldyn Targe") and Lindsay(in "Squyer Meldrum") call the birds "Venus Chapell clarkis". See W.A. Neilson, op.cit, p.227.

(3) W.A. Neilson, op. cit. pp.220-227.

(4) "Anciennes Poésies françaises des XVe et XVIe siècles" ed. A. de Montaiglon, Paris 1855-1870. "La Paternostre des Verollez", vol I, p.68, "Paternostre des Angloys", vol I, p.125. "Letanie des bons compaignons", v.VII,p66. "Des Profundis des Amoureux", vol IV, p.206. There is a "Patre-nostre Farsie" in A. de Montaiglon and G. Raynaud's "Recueil Complet et Général des Fabliaux",(Paris 1887-90) no.XLII, vol II, p.145.

(5) Montaiglon, ibid, vol I, p.204, vol II, p.112, and vol II, p.325 respectively. They remind one of Burns' "John Barleycorn".

I think, original. In this respect he is almost equalled by another Scottish makar. Sir John Rowll's "Cursing"[1] is a delicious parody of the excommunication.

"Kynd Kittok"[2], though not actually a parody, is in the same spirit of happy and innocent blasphemy peculiar to the Middle Ages. It reminds one of Villon's "Ballade et oraison" for Maistre Jehan Cotart.[3] The spirit is much the same, though Dunbar's imagination is far more fantastic. Villon, as usual, is the realist with his touch of bitterness.

"The Dance of the Sevin Deidly Synnis"[4] treats a subject popular in literature and art[5] in much the same vein as "Kittok", but no French description, however burlesque, can vie with the wonderful climax of that astonishing bacchanal. The other burlesque pieces are less interesting and seem to be as original, owing nothing directly to France, though they are in the same tradition as a mass of French satire.

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(1) "The Cursing of S^r^ Johne rowlis Vpon the steilaris of his fowlis" in the Bannatyne MS, ed. W. Tod Ritchie, S.T.S. 1922, 1925 and 1926, vol II, p.277.

(2) Dunbar, S.T.S. vol II, p.52.

(3) Villon, ed. Atkinson (London 1930) p.150, Testament, l.1238 ff.

(4) Dunbar, S.T.S. vol II, p.117.

(5) Many writers had "done" it, eg. Chaucer, in "The Parson's Tale", Langland in "Piers Plowman", Passus V, and Lydgate in the "Dance of Death".

Then, as the complement and antithesis to this bounding vitality, we have the mood of darkness and despondency, the sorrow of "gret seiknes" and death, the tolling bell of the "Lament for the Makaris".(1) It has often been compared with Villon's ballades, "Des Dames du temps jadis",(2) "Des seigneurs du temps jadis",(3) and to his beautiful stanza:

"Ou sont les gracieux galants
Que je suivoye ou temps jadis,
Si bien chantans, si bien parlans,
Si plaisans en faiz et en dis?
Les aucuns sont mors et roidis,
D'eulx n'est il plus rien maintenant:
Repos aient en paradis,
Et Dieu saulve le remenant!" (4)

The subjects and the feeling of both poets are very similar, but both are simply expressing one of the characteristic moods of the Middle Ages, the mystery and sadness of the "loss of brittle life". To Villon, the mystery is hardly illumined by Dunbar's concluding hope:

"Eftir our deid that lif may we"; (5)

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(1) Dunbar, S.T.S. vol II, p.48.
(2) Villon, ed. Atkinson (London 1930) p.92, Testament, l.329 ff.
(3) ibid, p.94, Testament, l.357 ff.
(4) Villon, "Le Testament", ll 25 ff, p.86.
(5) Dunbar, "Lament for the Makaris", l.99, p.51.

"Repos eternel donne a cil"[1], he says, but the stanzas in which he says it are a bitter mockery of himself, and "Ou sont les neiges d'antan?" is the truer expression of his unhappy spirit.

Dunbar is much more orthodox, and only in his introduction of his own friends among the usual figures of the Dance of Death does he depart from the well worn usage of the "ubi sunt" theme.[2] The question perpetually haunted the men of the Middle Ages.[3] Life was uncertain, death often violent and horrible, the causes of disease unknown. Where then were those who lived but yesterday? The Latin writers moralised upon it; both "Golias" and the writers of the Latin hymns asked the eternal question; where are Sampson, Absolon, Johathas, Caesar, Dives, Tullius and Aristotle? Where indeed, since the defences of this world were of no profit to them; but the "arch-poet" finishes, like Dunbar, with the hope for an eternal life where all such questioning will be meaningless:

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(1) Villon, "Le Testament", l.1892, p.192.

(2) For illustrations of the "ubi sunt" theme, see "English Verse between Chaucer and Surrey" ed. by E.P. Hammond (Durham, North Carolina and London 1927) pp.169 ff. Quotations are given from the Latin hymns, and references to the theme in Villon, Deschamps, Olivier de la Marche, Jean Regnier, Boccaccio, Lydgate, Nevill, Skelton, Sir Thomas More, etc., etc. The "ubi sunt" question comes into the well-known old students' song, "Gaudeamus igitur", (stanza 2).

(3) See J. Huizinga, "The Waning of the Middle Ages", (trans. by F. Hopman, London 1924) chapter XI, "The Vision of Death".

"Nil tuum dixeris quod potes perdere,
quod mundus tribuit intendit rapere;
superna cogita, cor sit in aethere,
foelix qui potuit mundum contempnere". (1)

Most of the French authors echo the theme. Jean Regnier in his "Fortunes et Adversitéz" (2) has a ballade on it not unlike Villon's, though lacking his peculiar magic; Villon himself might have copied it from Deschamps (3). Chastellain in "Le Pas de la Mort" laments:

"Ou sont les preux du temps jadis?" (4)

and ends, like Dunbar, with an exhortation to virtue and faith. Villon, however, is nearer to Dunbar in that he cites not only the ancient heroes but his own contemporaries and friends.

Not only the poets were haunted by the passing away of earthly glory. The artists had made the theme their own, and all over Western Europe the Dance of Death or Dance

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(1) T. Wright, "The Latin Poems commonly attributed to Walter Mapes", London 1841. From "De Mundi Vanitate", p.147.

(2) ed. by E.Droz (S.A.T.F) Paris, 1923, pp.XXXVII-XXXVIII. A. Campaux in "François Villon" (Paris 1859) p.153, note 3 gives several other examples.

(3) P. Champion, "François Villon, sa vie et ses temps" Paris 1913, vol II, p.179. E. Deschamps, Oeuvres, ed. G. Raynaud (S.A.T.F) Paris 1878-97, vol VIII, pp.29-32.

(4) Oeuvres de Georges Chastellain, ed. M. le Baron Kervyn de Lettenhove, (Brussels 1864) vol VI, p.46.

Macabre was a favourite subject for painting and sculpture. The most famous representation of it was in the Cemetery of the Innocents in Paris,[1] where it was painted in 1424 with explanatory verses. Lydgate translated these for the similar paintings in St. Paul's.[2] Coupled with the Dance of Death was the older legend, "Des Trois morts et des trois vifs", which told how three young men encountered three skeletons emblematic of their future fate.[3] Henryson's "The Thre Deid Pollis"[4] is clearly inspired by this legend. It is the sermon of the "Trois Morts" to the living. The "Dance Macabre" works out the same ides. It shows every rank of life as the prey of "Death the skeleton" who takes by the hand emperor, pope, king, cardinal, nobleman, merchant, lady, husbandman and new-born infant.

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(1) Louis Bréhier: "L'Art Chrétien", Paris 1928, p.388.

(2) F. Douce: "The Dance of Death", London 1833, p.29. Lydgate's "Dance of Death" ed. F. Warren, E.E.T.S. no.181, London, 1931; W. Dugdale prints it in, "History of St. Paul's Cathedral", London 1818, p.419. E.H. Langlois, "Essai sur les Danses des Morts", Paris 1851; "L'Alphabet de la Mort de Hans Holbein", ed. A. de Montaiglon, Paris 1861. It also contains, "Les Trois Morts et les trois vifs".

(3) See notes p.125 ff in E.P. Hammond's "English Verse between Chaucer and Surrey", London 1927. Also "Anciennes Poésies françaises", ed. A. de Montaiglon, vol V, p.60. (Paris 1855-1870). See Bréhier, op. cit, p.385.

(4) Henryson, S.T.S. ed. vil III, p.156 ff.

"The empriour, for all his excellenss,
King and quene, and eik all erdly stait,
peure and riche, sal be but differenss,
Turnit in ass, and thus in erd translait". (1)

In the fifteenth century - a period of pessimism when faith was weak - the figure of Death was everywhere; "Sa figure grimaçante obsède les imaginations". (2) The Dance is even carved in our own Roslin Chapel.

Not only was it painted and carved, it was also acted, (3) and it could not fail, so presented, to make a deep impression on the spectators. It was a sermon to all, but particularly to the great, whom it taught to consider themselves no better than the beggar. To the poor, the idea of an equality impossible during life, was a melancholy comfort. (4) Nor are beauty and wisdom more lasting than riches:

"Je congnois que povres et riches,
Sages et folz, prestres et laiz,
Nobles, villains, larges et chiches,
Petiz et grans, et beaulx et laiz,

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(1) Henryson, "The Thre Deid Pollis", ll 37-40. S.T.S. vol III, p.157.

(2) L. Bréhier, "L'Art Chrétien", p.357.

(3) See O. Cartelliere: "The Court of Burgundy" (London 1929) p.137.

(4) M.M. Wood: "The Spirit of Protest in Old French Literature" New York 1917, p.52.

Dames à rebrassez colletz,
De quelconque condicion,
Portants atours et bourreletz,
Mort saisit sans exception". (1)

The pictured Dance was no doubt in Villon's mind, and it, I think, or probably Lydgate's verses for it, was Dunbar's chief inspiration:(2)

"Onto the ded gois all Estatis,
Princis, Prelotis and Potestatis,
Baith riche and pur of all degre". (3)

the knight, the tyrant, "the bab, full of benignite", the champion, the captain, the lady, the lord, the clerc, the scholars, the physicians, and the poets, they are all the stock figures of the "Dance Macabre", and it is a perfectly natural sequel that Dunbar, with that characteristic intimacy of his, should add his own friends, the poets, his "gracieux galants".

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(1) Villon, "Le Testament", ll 305-312, ed. Atkinson, p.90.
(2) Jean Regnier definitely refers to the "Dance Macabre":
"Dire vs vueil dont me suis remembré
En sommeillant d'une trop dure dance,
Qu'on appelle la dance macabré.
Je doubte moult qu'a telle je ne dance,
Car j'ay au cueur douleur qui trop m'avance,
Je tiens teneur, mais la mort contretient:
Adieu vs dy se mourir me convient". (From "Les Fortunes et Adversitez de Jean Regnier, ed. E. Droz (S.A.T.F.) Paris 1923). This may have served as a model for Villon.
(3) Dunbar, "Lament for the Makaris", ll.17-20, S.T.S. vol II, p.48.

As for the wonderful refrain, it is neither his invention nor his discovery. It is "a line after the response after the eighth lesson in the Offices of the Dead",(1) and it had already been used several times in English. It appears as:

"Evere more, where so euer I be
The dred of deth do troble me". (2)

in Lydgates's poem:

"Alas, my hart will brek in thre....
Terribilis mors conturbat me;" (3)

in an anonymous piece:

"All crysten pepull behold and se,
yis world is but a vanyte,
and replet with necessyte
timor mortis conturbat me;" (4)

and in another, also anonymous,(5) which refers, like Villon and Chastellain, to dead heroes and ladies and ends with the same refrain.

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(1) F.A. Patterson, "The Middle English Penitential Lyric", New York, 1911, pp 22-23.
(2) ibid, no.35, p.100.
(3) ibid, no.37, p.103.
(4) ibid, no.36, p.102. I quote the fifth stanza.
(5) ibid, no.38, p.104.

Dunbar's poem certainly belongs to this group, though it far surpasses them all in its superb union of meaning and sound. There is absolutely no need to seek Villon's influence in it. Another of Dunbar's poems, in ballade stanzas, reminds one more of Villon's Testament. It is on the same traditional subject, "Momento, Homo, quod cinis es!" (1) Like Villon, Dunbar gives a list of dead heroes, different names from Villon's and more traditional; then he says:

"Thocht now thow be maist glaid of cheir,
Fairest and plesandest of port;
Zit may thou be, within ane zeir,
Ane vgsum, vglye tramort...;" (2)

is it the "Trois Morts" again, or an echo of Villon's "Ballade of the Hanged"? (3) Dunbar says:

"Thy lustye bewte and thy zouth
Sall feid as dois the somer flouris;" (4)

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(1) Dunbar, S.T.S. vol II, p.74.

(2) Dunbar, "Momento Homo", ll.17-20, S.T.S. vol II, p.74.

(3) Villon, "L'Epitaphe Villon", Atkinson's ed. p.236.

(4) Dunbar, ibid, ll 25-26.

and one remembers how much more Villon made of this theme.[1] Dunbar, as usual in his didactic poems, is eager to stress the moral; Villon never did so. Again, any likeness is simply that of the traditional matter. Dunbar's poems, "I cry the mercy", "All erdly joy" and "Meditation in Winter" are on similar themes, but are not particularly original or interesting.[2]

Nearly all of Dunbar's other moral poems are on the favourite subject of the "Warldis Instability", the fickleness of Fortune. The subject is so common that one cannot look for any literary influences here at this period. Chaucer had "done" it thoroughly and every succeeding poet must do it too.

The religious poems to the Virgin Mary are more interesting, for they show a mixture of two styles, the old style of the Latin hymns, and the new elaboration of the French Rhétoriqueurs. "Haile, sterne superne!"[3] is clearly in the tradition of the Latin hymns,[4] and of the vernacular poems which copied them.[5]

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(1) See "Le regrets de la belle Heaulmiere", Testament l.453,ff. Atkinson's ed. p.100.
(2) Dunbar, S.T.S. ed. pp.65, 76 and 233.
(3) "Ane Ballat of our Lady", Dunbar, S.T.S. vol II, p.269.
(4) for example, see G.M. Dreves "Ein Jahrtausend lateinischer Hymnendichtung", vol II, Leipzig 1909.
(5) eg. "Heil, sterre of þe See so bright"! in F.A.Patterson's "The Middle English Penitential Lyric", New York 1911, p.112, no 43, or, in French, the Prayer of the "Flagellons":

Ave regina pure et gente,
Très-haulte Ave maris stella!
Ave precieuse jovante,
Lune ou Dieux s'esconsa..."

in Leroux de Lincy's "Recueil de Chants Historiques français depuis le XIIe jusqu'au XVIIIe siècles". Paris 1841,p.240.

In his plenteous use of Latinised words, Dunbar is like the French Rhétoriqueurs and no doubt meant to follow the fashion they set, although much of his aureate vocabulary is probably invented from Latin rather than borrowed from France.

The style of religious poetry was changing, and Dunbar's illustrates both the older and the newer elements. Writing of the Middle English religious poems, F.A. Patterson says:

> "In the fourteenth century and before, there also flourished in France another kind of religious poetry. In style this was very ornate; it employed long words and delighted especially in placing an adjective of many syllables in the rhyme; it abounded in allusions and in all kinds of ornaments and embellishments. A single line will illustrate admirably the nature of these lyrics:
>
> "O femme resplendissans, roine glorieuse!" (1)

The Grands Rhétoriqueurs carried this fashion to excess. (2) Chastellain, in spite of his elaborations, is still dignified, but some of the efforts of the later writers are almost

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(1) F.J. Patterson, "The Middle English Penitential Lyric", p.44.

(2) "Louenge à la Très-Glorieuse Vièrge", ed. Kervyn de Lettenhove, vol.VIII, p.269.

incredibly ridiculous to our ears. Molinet, who has a wonderful stock of Latinised rhymes,(1) begins a prayer to the Virgin with:

"Alegez moy doulce plaisant brunette!" (2)

Nesson is so alarmingly familiar with Our Lady, that his "L'hommage à la Vièrge"(3) has been explained as an indirect piece of flattery for Marie de Berry.(4) He plays with the idea of the difficulty of knowing whether his homage to Mary should include homage to her son, a difficult legal point, he says, owing to the complicated relationships of the divine family.(5)

Dunbar never copied the Rhétoriqueurs' manner of twisting and playing with ideas, and though he does imitate their vocabulary and their elaborate rhymes, he does not go far with

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(1) See "Les Faictz et dictz de feu de boñe memoire Maistre Jehan Molinet contenans plusieurs beaulx Traictez Oraisons et Champs royaulx", etc. Paris 1531. sig.Ai - "dyabolicque, oblicque, angelicque, catholicque, evangelicque; Biv - romanicque, erronicque, cronicque, inicque, sathanicque, tiranicque, dominicque, etc.

(2) Molinet, ibid, sig Av.

(3) Pierre de Nesson, ed. A. Piaget and E. Droz, Paris 1925, p.39 ff. See introd. pp.9-11.

(4) introd. to the above, p.9. A. Champion, "Histoire Poétique du XVième Siècle" (Paris 1923) vol I, p.195. On Nesson, ibid, p.167 ff.

(5) This illustrates the popularity of the law-court allegory; see page 218.

their tortuous verbal conceits. In "Haile, sterne superne!" he uses the Latinised diction and the internal rhymes popular with the French poets, but the sense is perfectly simple, and he preserves the lyrical quality of the Latin hymns - a quality which had practically disappeared from contemporary French. Even Dunbar's religious ballades are unusually lyrical. "Roiss Mary most of Vertew Virginall" (1) is full of aureate words after the manner of Chastellain, but the others (2) are really quite simple, and express a genuine religious feeling.

Dunbar's metrical forms must be dealt with in another chapter. As with his subjects and style, so with these: he learned much from France, but used it in his own way, and refused to be confined to the usual rather tiresome reiteration of ballade and rondeau. His metrical forms are far more varied than those of his French contemporaries and they are also freer. Dunbar never wrote the ballade correctly, complete with its envoy, and he used the rondeau form only once; like the French poets, particularly Deschamps, he was very fond of an obvious proverb-like phrase as a refrain, a French trait. Some of his verse forms, like some of his

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(1) Dunbar, S.T.S. ed. vol. II, p.272.

(2) Ibid. "Rorate Celi desuper", p.72; "Surreiit Dominus de Sepulchro", p.154; "Done is a Battell on the Dragon Blak", p.156; and "A Ballat of the Passioun of Christ", p.239.

subjects, belong to an earlier period than the fifteenth century.

We may conclude that Dunbar knew both contemporary and older French literature well, and learned much from it, without allowing any literary fashion to cramp his originality. Although we can see resemblances in his work to many French authors, we cannot say definitely that any one of these had a personal influence on him. He never worked, as Douglas did, with a foreign book at his elbow - unless perhaps it were Chaucer, who was hardly a foreigner. Throughout his work, Dunbar retains, more than any other mediaeval poet, his distinctive Scottish characteristics.

C H A P T E R I V.

THE FABLES AND THE BALLADS.

Fables, fableaux or fabliaux[1] form a very important part of mediaeval literature. They are short stories in verse,[2] generally humorous and often very coarse, sometimes moral and didactic, sometimes even sentimental. Realistic and satirical, they are the counterpart of the romantic idealism of the literature of courtly love. There can be no doubt that a great many of these stories were known in Scotland, though few have been preserved in a literary form.

There has been much discussion on the origin of the fabliaux, and, though many are of native origin in France, some, at least, if not the majority, as Gaston Paris believed, come from the far East.[3] The bourgeois and the priest are their favourite subjects, but there are fabliaux on

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(1) See J. Bedier: "Les Fabliaux", 5th ed. Paris 1925; L. Petit de Julleville: "Histoire de la Langue et de le Littérature française des origines à 1900", Paris, 1896-99, V.II, chapters I and II; and "Histoire Littéraire de la France" Benedictines etc., for particular authors. Also, of course, Gaston Paris, v.I.

(2) Later, in the 15th century they were retold as "nouvelles" in prose.

(3) Gaston Paris: "Poésie du Moyen Age" 2ième série. Paris 1903, pp.75,ff.
J.E.Wells in "A Manual of the Writings in Middle English" claims that the fable literature is of English origin.
See p.180.

every class of society.One of the earliest and most important types of this literature is the animal fable. Aesop, was popular, and in fact gave his name to the whole genre, but the greatest work of this kind is the enormous collection of stories forming the "Roman de Renart." The tales from which it derives seem to have originated in the Rhine-land, and the written stories are found first in Latin then in French. They soon became immensely popular, especially in the northern countries. The "Couronnement de Renart" was added in the thirteenth, and "Renart le Nouveau" and "Renart le Contrefait" in the fourteenth centuries. In the fifteenth century Caxton published in English the "Historye of Reynard the Foxe" (1481) and this is the main source from which Henryson borrowed when he introduced the great cycle into Scottish literature.(1)

One group of Henryson's "Fables" is written in imitation of the famous Renart cycle. The Fox is as wily as the French Renart, the Wolf as easily beguiled as Isengrin, the Lion

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(1) In vol.II of the S.T.S. ed. of Henryson, ed. G.Gregory Smith, Ed. & London, 1906.
See A.R.Diebler: "Henrisons Fabeldichtungen", Halle, 1885. Diebler's actual grouping of the Fables is said by Gregory Smith to be "imaginary and futile."
S.T.S. ed. vol.I, p.xxvii, note 1.

is the king of the animal world, and though the chief source of the Scottish Fables is Caxton's English, it has been shown that Henryson knew and used the French version as well.[1]

The fourth Fable, "The Taill of Schir Chantecleir and the Foxe"[2] reminds one at once of Chaucer's famous story,[3] and Chaucer, his great master, may well have given Henryson the idea for his whole collection, but he probably worked here, as in the other tales, from Caxton's book, and supplemented it with the same story in the fifth branch of the French "Roman de Renart": "Si coume Renart prist Chantecler le Coc."[4] Henryson's style is closer to the French work than to Chaucer's. He may also have used the sixth part of the later "Renart le Contrefait" where there is a similar account of the beguiling and subsequent cunning of Chantecleir.[5] The subject had already been used by Marie de France, but there is nothing to show that her work, which is a simple and bare narration, was known to Henryson.[6]

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(1) See Diebler, op. cit.

(2) Henryson, S.T.S. ed. II, 30.

(3) "The Nun Priest's Tale" Globe ed. of Chaucer, (1926) p.132.

(4) "Roman de Renart" (13th cent.) ed. M.D.M.Méon, Paris, 1826. I, 49-65. See Diebler, op. cit. p.44.

(5) Diebler, ibid.

(6) Marie had also written the stories of the Cock and the Jewel, the Wolf and the Lamb, etc. retold by Henryson. See C.Aubertin: "Choix de Textes de L'Ancien français" etc. Paris 1883, pp.134-140.

The source of the sixth tale of the Fox and the Lion[1] is not known, but is probably some lost French fable. In the list of animals, Henryson does not follow Caxton, but the French "Couronnement Renart." Many lines are strikingly like the French.[2]

"The Taill of the Wolf that gat the nekkering",[3] the tenth fable, borrows from Caxton, (chapter IV) from the tenth branch of the "Roman de Renart" (ll. 3939-4264) and from its second branch: "Si coume Renart manja le poisson aus charretiers."[4] The style and tone as well as many

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(1) Henryson vol.II, p.60

(2) Diebler, pp. 53-54. For ex. of similar line:

".....Il (le lion) a sembla
Tous les barons qui Prince furent,
Des bestes qui quatre pies urent"
"Roman de Renart"ed. Méon:
from "Couronnement Renart" V,l. 1708.

"....all.fourfuttit beistis on eird
As thay commandit war withoutin moir
Befor the lord the liun thay appeirit."
Henryson, Harleian text, v.II p.67
ll. 874-876.
Diebler gives many parallel passages and names. There is a similar list of animals in "The King's Quair", ed. W.W.Skeat, S.T.S. 1911, p.38, stanzas 155-157, which Henryson also copied. (Diebler, p 54)

(3) Henryson, v.II, p.144.

(4) Diebler, pp.64-68.

passages of the Scots and French works are remarkably alike, and many of the humorous detais which we should be inclined to credit to Henryson's own imagination, such as how the Fox lay down in the middle of the road,feigning death, lolled out his tongue and turned up the whites of his eyes, how the cadger planned to make warm mittens of his skin, etc., all these are found in the French stories.[1]

Finally in the eleventh Fable, "The Taill of the Fox that begylit the Wolf",[2] etc., Henryson has used Caxton, a French fable,"Du vilein qui dona ses bues au lou",[3] and the twenty-fifth branch and thirtieth branch of the "Roman de Renart."[4]

It would have been surprising indeed had Henryson not known the French version of this famous "romance." In his retelling of the tales he is well able to hold his own with any, save perhaps Chaucer, whom he himself calls master.

"The Freiris of Berwik"[5] generally printed with Dunbar's poems, though it is most unlikely that it is his, is an

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(1) Diebler gives lists of parallel passages.

(2) Henryson, II,p.164.

(3) In E.Barbazon and M.Méon's "Fabliaux et Contes" Paris, 1808, p.144.

(4) Diebler, pp.73-74.

(5) In the S.T.S. ed. of Dunbar, II, 285. Schipper's ed. of Dunbar, p.390 (Vienna, 1896)
See d.Irving: "History of Scottish Poetry" Ed. 1861.

excellent specimen of the humorous fabliau. It treats of the fabliau's favourite subject, a middle-class woman's intrigue with a priest, the characters are true to the accepted types, there are realistic details to make the setting vivid, and the story is told with considerable skill and verve. It is much the best version of a story found in several different forms.

The Scottish story is a variant of the plot of the French fable "Le Pauvre Clerc."(1) Bedier, who claims to have made made a complete analysis of all the French fabliaux(2) does not cite any story exactly similar to "The Freiris." The story of the poor clerk, he says, is found in three forms, "Le Soudan de Babylone," "Le Pauvre Clerc and "Le Soldat Magicien." "The Freiris of Berwik" combines features from the two latter.(3)

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(1) Published by A.de Montaiglon and G.Raynaud in "Recueil Général et Complet des Fabliaux" Paris 1883, v.V, p.192. A résumé of it is given by Le Grand d'Aussy in "Fabliaux et Contes du XIIe et de XIIIe siècles", Paris 1781, IV, 1.

(2) "Les Fabliaux" (5th ed. Paris 1925). It is discussed at length in appendix II pp.453-4.

(3) D.Irving's delightful summary is rather too long to quote. See "History of Scottish Poetry" (1861) pp.418-425.

The story of the Scottish fabliau runs as follows:

First we have a panegyric of Berwick, mentioning the four orders of friars who lived in the town. (ll.1-27)

On a May morning[1] two Jacobins, Friar Allane and Friar Robert, were sent out to preach in the country.[2] They returned in the evening tired out, and, thinking that the gates would be closed, they decided to look for a lodging outside the town. (ll.28-50)

Without the gates there lived an innkeeper, Symon Lawrear, who had a handsome wife, Alesoun. The friars stopped at his house, the husband was away in the country, but the wife entertained them with bread, cheese and ale. Suddenly they heard the abbey bell and knew that the gates must certainly be shut. They begged the woman to give them shelter for the night (ll.50-82)

She declared that her husband was from home and she dared not harbour them in his absence. (ll.83-89) However, Allane prevailed upon her to allow them to lodge in the loft. The dame was very glad to send them there and be rid of them, for she was expecting a visit from her lover, Friar Johine, a rich and renowned Black Friar of Berwick. The

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(1) An echo of the chanson d'aventure.

(2) In the description of the friars' popularity with the country people, the author copies Chaucer's Pardoner's Prologue.

"fair wyfe" made up the fire, put fat capons on the spit and fat rabbits before the blaze, and decked herself in all her finery. Her maid, who was in the secret, helped her. (90-152)

Friar Johine arrived, the woman greeted him lovingly and offered him wine, a pair of partridges and fine white bread. Meanwhile Friar Robert had made a little hole in the floor of the loft, through which he could hear and see all that passed. (ll. 153-189)

In the midst of their gaiety, Alesoun heard the knocking of her husband, returned before his time. Friar Johine was much upset, but the dame hid him in the meal trough, and made the servant put away all the food. Then she undressed and went to bed, leaving her husband to tire himself out with knocking. When he called, she pretended to be unwilling to let anyone in while she was alone in the house, but at last she was induced to open the door and to give him a very meagre supper. Friar Robert heard the poor man express a wish for some cheering company, and coughed to make his presence known. The wife explained how the friars happened to be in the loft, and the husband hospitably invited them down to drink with him, in spite of her obvious reluctance. (ll. 190-313.)

As they talked, Symone wished that the meal were better, and Friar Robert promised him that he could produce the very best meat and drink by means of magic practices he had learned at Paris. He enacted some spells, named all the good fare he had seen, and bade the Dame bring it out of the

cupboard. This she had to do, feigning great astonishment at the power of the Friar's magic. The company feasted royally. At last, after keeping the wife on tenterhooks, Friar Robert contrived to get rid of the hidden Friar Johine without letting Symone discover his wife's guilt. He continued his pretended spells, calling upon a familiar spirit to come out of the meal bin and leave the house. The plan worked perfectly. Friar Johine was forced to play the fiend and escaped without Symone being any the wiser. (ll. 314-340)

The French story of "Le Povre Clerc"(1) is by no means identical, but is closely related to the Scottish tale:

In Paris there was a clerk so poor that he was forced to leave the city and set out for home. In a town through which he passed he entered the house of a "vilain" and begged the mistress to let him shelter there. She refused, as her husband was from home. (ll. 1-30)

Just then a servant brought in two casks of wine. The dame dressed herself richly and got out a cake and some pork. The clerk asked again to be allowed to stay, But the unmerciful woman turned him out of doors. He had not gone far, before he met a man who passed him by and entered the house. (ll. 31-62)

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(1) "Récueil Général et Complet des Fabliaux" loc. cit.

While the clerk was wondering where to go, the owner of the house returned from the mill and invited him in. The woman hid her lover, the priest, in a crib and the husband entered with the clerk. (ll. 63-101)

The good-man called for supper and bade the wife take the flour he had brought and bake some bread. Meanwhile he begged the student to tell a story or sing to pass the time. The clerk replied that he knew no stories but would tell him of his journey. He related some imaginary adventures, and cunningly contrived to mention the wine, the cake, the pork and the hidden priest. In this way he revealed all the wife's secrets to the husband, who revenged himself by giving her a good beating. (l. 102 to the end.)

This story is far less skilfully told. The first part is awkwardly managed and the dénouement is different from that of the "Freiris". It lacks the artistic advantage of preserving the woman's secret and keeping up the fooling of the husband until the end. Another French fable, "Le Clerc qui fu repus derière l'escrin"(1) by Jean de Condé is very like "Le Povre Clerc" but still simpler and clumsier. It has not a trick of any kind at the end, and is further still from "The Freiris of Berwik."

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(1) In Montaiglon and Raynaud: "Récueil Général et Complet des Fabliaux" v.IV, p.47.

One might be tempted to think that the Scottish author had invented the clever dénouement for his tale, but this is far from being the case. In a seventeenth century story, "Le Soldat Magicien" by Antoine le Metel, Sieur d'Ouville,(1) the trick by which the lover is allowed to escape without discovery is almost identical with that in "The Freiris of Berwik." In this tale the scene is in Grenada; the pretended magician is a soldier quartered in the house of a bourgeois, and the wife's lover is an"avocat." The soldier, unlike Friar Robert, reassures the wife during his pretended magic, telling her that he does not intend to betray her secret, and the next day he makes use of what he knows in order to obtain her favours. These are very slight alterations to suit the taste of the time.

Now, it is exceedingly unlikely that d'Ouville knew or copied the Scottish story, so we must conclude that an older French fable existed, which ended with the sorcery trick, and which served as model both for d'Ouville and for the author of "The Freiris." This is confirmed by the fact that

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(1) in "L'Élite des Contes du Sieur D'Ouville, réimprimée sur l'édition de Rouen 1680" Paris 1883. v.I, p.150. The same anecdotes were published under the name of "Récreations françaises" Rouen 1663, and Utopie, Holland, 1681; and as "Nouveaux Contes à rire" Paris, 1678, and 1692, Amsterdam 1690, and Cologne 1702 & 1710. D'Ouville died before 1657.

we find the same story in German in at least two different forms, and belonging to the fifteenth century. The story of "Der geafte pfaffe" in the "Gesammtabenteuer"(1) has the same ending as "Le Povre Clerc", but in one of the Fastnachtspiele by Hans Sachs we find the sorcery trick of "The Freiris of Berwik" only slightly altered. In this little comedy, "Der fahrend Schüler mit dem Teufelbannen",(2) the first part of the story is like "Le Povre Clerc", the scholar is turned out of the house and enters it again with the husband. The devil-conjuring scene is much elaborated. The scholar sends his host and hostess out of the room and then forces the hidden priest to give him some money and to act the devil, blackened with soot and wearing a horse's hide. This alteration would be amusing on the stage, and may be borrowed from the German folk-tales of devil-horses.(3) It is obviously an accretion. As in the Scottish tale, the unfaithful wife escapes undiscovered. Von der Hagen,(4) in discussing Sachs'

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(1) ed. by F.H.von der Hagen, Stuttgart & Tübingen 1850; v.III no. 61, p.142. It is by Stricker.

(2) Hans Sachs: "Ernstliche Trauerspiele, liebliche Schauspiele, seltsame Fastnachtspiele" etc. ed. J.G.Büsching Nürnberg 1819, v.II, pp.244-259. Written 1551.

(3) F.G.von der Hagen's introduction to the "Gesammtabenteuer" p.xxxiv. vol.III.

(4) ibid. v.III p.xxxiii.

comedy, remarks that the character of the principal person- a clerc or scholar - is in the French tradition, German writers usually preferred a knight, as in the Gesammtabenteur This clerk is one of the old-time sort, he says, a real wandering scholar or Goliard, practising all kinds of tricks and deceptions to gain his livelihood. This suggests that the original form of the story may date from the twelfth century. (1)

Hans Sachs sometimes found his plots in French literature but here he adapted another German poem by the fifteenth century mastersinger of Nuremberg, Hans Rosenblüt or Rosen-plüt (2) who wrote about 1450. Rosenplüt's poem seems to be older than "The Freiris of Berwik" though we do not know the exact date of the latter. We have now found, in different versions, all the elements of the story, except the introductory description of Berwik and the second friar, and these are the only parts of the fable which we can call original. We can draw out a tentative scheme of the relationship of the different forms as follows:

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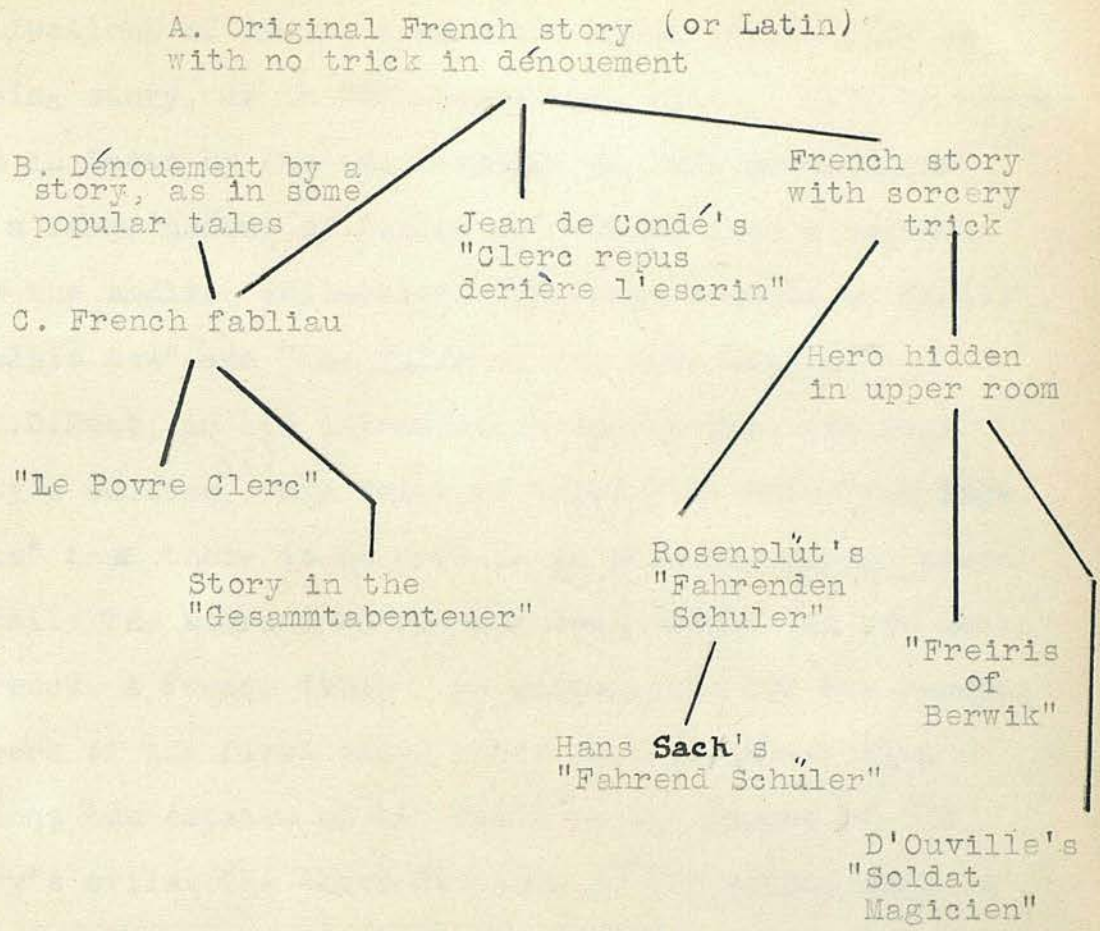
(1) A.F.Stiefel "Über die Quellen der Hans Sachsischen Dramen" in Germania XXXVI, Vienne 1891, p.22.

(2) See W.Goltner "Die deutsche Dichtung im Mittelalter 800-1500" Stuttgart 1912, p.510. And Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie, Leipzig 1889, v.XXIX. The "Fahrenden Schüler" and a few other of his stories are from traditional material, not much marked by Rosenplüt's own style. p.230.



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(1) See E. Cosquin: "Contes Populaires de Lorraine" (Paris and Maçon, 1886) vol.II, p 329, LXXIX "Le Corbeau". Here the woman hides not a lover but a raven, and the discovery is very like that in "Le Povre Clerc". It may, of course, be copied from the fables. Two Italian and one Oriental fable are cited as parallels.

(2) In his edition of Dunbar, Dr. W. Mackay Mackenzie writes in a note to "The Freiris of Berwik" (p 232) "The central theme and incidents of the story have been handled in various ways and combinations by several writers in different countries. A Latin prose version, in MSS of the thirteenth century, largely written in expressions taken /

Collections of fables were often bound together by an enclosing story, as in "The Canterbury Tales." This is represented in Scots by the two versions of "The Seven Sages"[1] where a large number of fables are worked into a romance, and by the smaller collections "The Thre Prestis of Peblis", "Colkelbie Sow" and "The Talis of the Fyve Bestis."

T.D.Robb, in his introduction to the Scottish Text Society's edition,[2] has dealt so thoroughly with "The Thre Prestis" that there is no need to go over the ground again in detail. The sources which have been identified are Latin and French. A French fable[3] is accountable for the general framework of the first tale, where an incompetent king questions the estates of his realm on the causes of the country's evils. The third division of the second part is either from Boccaccio's story of Giletta, the source of "All's Well that Ends Well",[4] or from a similar fabliau,

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(continued)
from the Vulgate Bible, is given in Lehmann's "Parodistische Texte" pp.50-7". Lehmann's story bears no very close resemblance to the fable. It concerns only a woman, her husband and her lover, a monk. There is no character corresponding to the scholar or friar, and no trick in the discovery. We have therefore not included it among the versions of our story, in which the scholar or friar is the pivot of the plot.

(1) See Chapter I pp. 68-70.

(2) Ed. & London, 1914-1915.

(3) ibid, Introd. p.xxiii. Le Grand "Fabliaux ou Contes" v.IV, p.45. Paris 1781.

(4) ibid. p.xxvii.

probably French. The third part, a story like that of the "Everyman", is a blend of a Jewish story and a French fabliau: "Du Prud'homme qui n'avait qu'un ami."(1) The whole poem is very didactic, and Latin was probably its author's favourite reading.

"Colkelbie Sow"(2) has not yet been thoroughly annotated. Its unknown author declares his sole authority to have been his grandmother Rurgunnald, and this we might well believe, for the story of how Colkelbie spent the only three pennies he had ever possessd, of how his sow's little piglet narrowly escaped death, was rescued by the loyal swine of the neighbourhood and grew into an heroic boar renowned like the heroes of the romances, reads like some wonderful old wives' tale, or rather like a delightful parody of one. The story of the third penny, which, after being hoarded away, bought an unusually satisfactory setting of eggs, and produced a brood of charmingly named poultry,(2) is in the same style. The tale of the second penny is different, and distinctly dull. It may be meant as a burlesque of the romance style, but it seems hardly amusing enough for that, after the humour of the other two stories. It tells of Colkelbie's adopted daughter Adria who married his son Flammislie, and

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(1) T.D.Robb, introd. to S.T.S. ed of "The Thre Prestis of Peblis" pp. xxxi-xxxii.

(2) In S.T.S. ed. of the Bannatyne MS. ed. W.Todd Ritchie: vol. IV, pp.279 ff. The notes are not yet published.

(3) One of the cocks was Chaucer's Chauntecleer, - we can easily guess where the author found his inspiration.

how, after serving the king and queen of France, they were rewarded with a country which they named Flandria. The story seems like some ill-remembered or deliberately mangled scrap of a French romance.(1) The framework tale of the three pennies, may have been suggested by some French fable, though none of the extant fabliaux are at all like it.

"The Talis of the Fyve Bestes"(2), like Colkelbie, have not received much attention. Unfortunately the collection is not complete; the beginning is lost. We can guess that the poet, no doubt during an early morning walk, saw, or dreamed that he saw, five animals, the Horse, the Hart, the Unicorn, the Boar and the Wolf assembled before their king the Lion. The poem begins in the middle of the Horse's tale. All the stories are very didactic, and sound as if Latin was their source. The Horse tell a fable of two brothers, a wise man and a fool. The fool leads the wise man astray, each tries to excuse himself at the expense of the other, and both are condemned. The Hart is an ardent supporter of Wallace, and tells how, on the day of Wallace's execution, a hermit was shown by an angel Heaven, Hell and Purgatory.

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(1) The names look like corrupt French. They are, besides Colkelbie and his godson Cokalb, Flammislie, Adria, Bellamorouss, Colkelbie's wife, and Blenblowane and Susane, the parents of Cokalb, who live in Bodyvincant Castell. In the first tale Artois is corrupted into Artherus: the boar

"gaif ane battell curious
To eglamoir of artherus" ll.465-6

The knight is the hero of one of the Thornton Romances.

(2) In the S.T.S. ed. of the Asloan MS. (fol.229) ed W.A. Craigie, 1925, II, 127 ff introd. vi.

This was a favourite subject in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, in French as well as in Latin.(1)

The Unicorn's tale of Gundulphus of Kent is mentioned by Chaucer and comes from a Latin source.(2) The Boar seems to be an heraldic animal, since he is described as red-gold in colour. He tells how Alexander spared Tyre against his will in order to keep a promise he had been tricked into giving. The Boar mentions that his hero was one of the Nine Nobles, but this story does not come from the "Roman d'Alixandre." The Wolf is clearly Isengrin of the "Roman de Renart." He is full of guile and greed, but his clumsy tricks are discovered and he is exiled from the court of the Lion. He is described as dressed in grey cotton; like the animals in the "Roman de Renart" he has been humanised. The whole collection is interesting, and clearly belongs to fabliau literature.

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(1) "Histoire Littéraire de la France" (Benedictines, etc) v.XXXVI pp.85 ff (Paris 1924) The subject originated in imitations of the vision of St Paul. In the 13th cent. Raoul de Houdenc wrote a "Songe d'Enfer" and an anon. writer, Rutebeuf and Badouin de Condé each wrote a "Voie de Paradis". In the 14th cent. we have an anon. "Voie d'Enfer et de Paradis" and a poem of the same name by Jean de la Motte.

(2) See the Nun's Priest's Tale ll.4502 ff:
"I have wel rad, in Daun Burnel the Asse,
Among his vers, how that ther was a cok,
For that a preestes sone yaf hym a knok
Upon his leg, whil he was yong and nyce,
He made hym for to lese his benefice..."
The story is in the "Speculum Stultorum" by Nigel Wireker. See A.W.Pollard's note in the Globe ed. p.138. (London, 1926.)

Some additional French fabliau stories are found in the Scottish ballads. Some of these have come through English forms, but others may be directly from French. A few of the Scottish ballads have Oriental parallels, and these are probably derived from French fabliau literature, much of which has an Eastern origin.(1)

"Get up and Bar the Door"(2) is one of a group which may or may not have a single archetype. Of its variants, that which comes nearest is in the first story of Straparola's Eighth Day(3) but d'Ouville(4) has a very similar story in French. There are other kindred tales in Italian, Arabic and Turkish.

"The Keach in the Creel"(5) occurs only in Scottish, not English, versions. The ballad is late, but it represents an old story found in a fifteenth century Norman song, and in a fourteenth century fabliau, "Du chevalier a la corbeille."

"The Twa Knights"(6) is another of the fabliau type. Its origins are very obscure, but Child inclines to a French fabliau source.

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(1) See G.Paris: "Les Contes Orienteaux dans la littérature française au Moyen Age" in "La Poésie du Moyen Age" 2ième série, Paris 1903 pp. 75-108.

(2) F.J.Child "The English and Scottish Popular Ballads" (Boston & New York, 1882-1884) v.V, pp.96-97, no. 275.

(3) "Le Piacevoli Notti di M.Giovanfrancesco Straparola da Caravogio" etc. Venice 1560.

(4) "L'Elite des Contes du Sieur d'Ouville" Rouen 1699, I,159.

(5) Child, V, 121, no.281.

(6) Child III, 21, " 268.

"The Friar in the Well"[1] comes from an English ballad. It has preserved a feature of its Eastern prototype - a well in the middle of a house. Probably the story came from the East through France.

"Willie's Lyke-Wake"[2] may be compared with the French "Le Soldat au Couvent" where a man similarly beguiles and carries off a maid by feigning death.

In "The Gay Goshawk"[3] it is the maiden who, like Juliet, appears to be dead in order to escape from her father to her lover. This idea is found in a ballad "Bele Isambourg" widely known in France, and also in the French romance, "Cligès."[4]

"The Baffled Knight"[5] of which the Scottish version is late, has many French parallels. "Lady Diamond"[6] resembles not a fable but a story "Le Chatelain de Coucy", though in the ballad it is the lady's father, not her husband, who works the horrible revenge, and brings her her lover's bleeding heart in a cup of gold. The Scottish story is not borrowed directly from French, but from Boccaccio's "Guiscardo e Ghismonda."

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(1) Child: "The English and Scottish Popular Ballads" vol. VI p.100 no. 276

(2) " I p.247 " 25, and note in vol.I, p.506.

(3) " II p.355 " 96

(4) " V p.2

(5) " II p.480 " 112

(6) " V p.33 " 269.

Many other Scottish ballads have French parallels, though few of them have direct borrowings from French. Many of the ballads of the fabliau or folk-song type may come ultimately from France; the epic ballads are generally borrowed from the north both by Scotland and by France. We have noticed how the form of the French Aube is preserved in a Scottish ballad;(1) two other popular French lyric forms reappear in "Our Goodman" and in "The Twa Magicians."

"Our Goodman"(2) is a late form of a special type of dialogue poem, probably copied from, and certainly of close kin to, the "Chanson de Marion."(3) In France, especially in the south, it is quite common, though few parallels of it are foumd elsewhere. It consists of a dialogue between a husband and a wife who tries to conceal her lover. "For the most part," says Child, "the colloquy runs in this wise:

> ""Where were you last evening, Marion?'
> 'In the garden, picking a salade.'
> 'Who was it you were talking with?'
> 'A gossip of mine.'.....
> 'Do wemen wear a sword?'
> 'It was no sword but a distaff.'"and so on.

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(1) See Chapter II, p.115.

(2) Child "The English and Scottish Popular Ballads" vol.V, p.88, no.274.

(3) G.Paris: "Mélanges de Moyen Age" p.579.(Paris, 1912) Victor Smith in Romania IX, 566. (Paris, 1880)

The Scottish version, being a late and degenerate variant, makes the wife hide not her lover, but a Jacobite refugee. Her excuses are quite like those in the French. The sword is explained as a porridge spirtle, the jack-boots as water stoups, and the man himself as a milking-maid.

"The Twa Magicians", says Child,(1) is a base-born cousin of a pretty ballad known all over southern Europe and elsewhere, and in especially graceful forms in France. The French ballad generally begins with a young man's announcing that he has won a mistress and intends to pay her a visit on Sunday, or give her an aubade. She declines his visit or his music. ....."She will turn into a rose; then he will turn bee and kiss her. She will turn quail; he sportsman and bag her. She will turn carp; he angler and catch her, " and so on.(2) The ballad or lyric is also found in Provence, and may be of courtly origin. If so, we have another form

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(1) Child "The English and Scottish Popular Ballads" I, 399. also notes in II, 506, IV 459 & V 216.

(2) eg. "Si tu te mets en pretre,,gaillard chantant,
Je me metterai en lievre, courant les champs
Et jamais tu en auras le coeur content.

Si tu te mets en lievre, courant les champs,
Je me mettrai en forme d'un chien courant,
J'attraperai le lievre courant les champs."

From "Les Transformations" sts 4&5; Victor Smith: "Vieilles Chansons du Velay et du Forez" Romania VII, p.62. Paris 1878. It is, he says, one of the most popular songs in France.

of the Troubadour poetry echoed in Scotland. The surviving ballad, whatever its origin may have been, is very far from courtly, and the hero is a blacksmith. This shows the usual tendency to popularise French courtly forms. After the preliminary talk between the lady and the blacksmith, the transformations are not threatened, but take place:

"Then she became a turtle dow
To fly up in the air,
And he became another dow,
And they flew pair and pair
O bide, lady bide, etc. (st.7)
She turned hersell into a hare,
To rin upon yon hill,
And he became a gude grey-hound,
And boldly he did fill.
O bide, lady, bide, etc. (st.10)

And so it goes on; she is an eel, he a trout; she a duck, he a drake; she a gray mare, he a gilt sadle; she a girdle, he a cake; she a ship, he a nail; she a silken plaid, he a green one.

The vast number of ballads on folk-lore, fairy-lore and the primitive themes of folk poetry, have numerous parallels in French as well as in the Scandinavian languages. In his vast collection, Child cites about two hundred French ballads having points in common with the Scottish. Certain typical ideas and expressions are found in the ballads of

every country. Perhaps the best example is in the "Douglas Tragedy"[1], the Scottish version of "Earl Brand":

"Lord William was buried in Mary's Kirk,
Lady Margaret in Mary's quire;
Out of the lady's grave grew a bonny red rose;
And out o' the knight's a briar.

And they twa met, and they twa plat,
And fain they wad be near;
And a' the warld might ken right well
They were twa lovers dear." (2)

Similarly a birch and a briar grow from the lovers' graves in "Fair Janet"[3] and in "The Lass of Roch Royal"[4], and across the water in Normandy a thorn and an olive, planted over lovers' graves, embrace each other[5], while in another old French song[6], the plants are a tree and a bush of lavender. Similar stories are found in a great number of other languages[7], and this plant symbolism has its roots deeper

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(1) Child: "The English and Scottish Popular Ballads" v.I, p.97, no.7.

(2) ibid, p.101, no.7, sts 18 & 19. (3) ibid. II, 102 no.64

(4) ibid. II, 217, no.76. (5) ibid. I, 101 quoting Beaurepaire: "poésie populaire en Normandie" p.51.

(6) ibid. IV, 443, quoting Daymard: "Vieux Chants" p 122. and ibid. III, p.498.

(7) ibid. I, 97.

than in any literary tradition.[1]

Folk-tales and fairy tales are similarly spread over Europe.[2] Many of the Scottish ballads have traits in common with the lays of Marie de France.[3] Both Scots and French borrowed from the Celtic languages, Gaelic and Breton. "Young Allan's"[4] ship obeys the steerman's voice; in Marie's lay, Guigemar[5] has a ship that knows her own way without guidance; the ballad of "Fair Annie"[6] and the "Lai del Freisne"[7] have a common source; in "Sir Cawline"[8] (an English ballad with Scottish variants) the hero, as in the "Lai de l'Epine"[9] keeps a midnight watch for adventures and tilts with Eldrich knights. In "The Earl of Mar's Daughter",[10] as in the "Lai d'Yonec"[11], the lover visits his

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(1) Other ballad commonplaces which appear in French and many other languages are found in "Clerk Saunders" (Child no.69) "Willie o' Douglas Dale" (no.101), "The Twa Brothers" (no.49) and "Mary Hamilton" (no.173).

(2) The ballad of "Alison Gross" (no.35) is connected with the French folk-tale and with "Beauty and the Beast".

(3) "Die Lais der Marie de France" ed. K.Warnke, Bibliotheca Normanica, vs. I,II & III, Halle, 1885. A convenient ed. is Everyman's "French Mediaeval Romances from the Lays of Marie de France" trans. E. Mason, 1911. Marie is supposed to have written in England.

(4) Child, IV, 377-8, no.245. (5) Lays, Everyman,p.17.

(6) " II, 67, no.62. (7) " " p.91.

(8) " II, 511, no.61. (9) ", p.137, Not by Marie.

(10) " V, 39, no.270. (11) ", p.125.

lady in the form of a bird - a very common folk-tale symbol - and in "Tam Lin" (1) and "Thomas the Rymer" (2) we have the familiar milk-white fairy steed which appears also in the "Lai de Launval" (3) and in "King Orfeo" (4) which comes from a lay. The story of Thomas the Rymer and the Elf Queen, originally without the prophesies of True Thomas, is another form of the story of Ogier Danois and Morgan la Fay. (5)

While some of the stories of Arthur, originally Celtic, passed into French literature, and thence back to English and Scots, (6) these Celtic fairy tales were used by Marie in her lays and possibly also by the French romance writers as well as by the English and Scots popular ballad writers without any direct literary borrowing. It seems very likely that many more apparently literary themes and forms were diffused in the same way.

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(1) Child: "English and Scottish Popular Ballads" v.I, p.339, no. 39.

(2) ibid. I, 317-319 no.37, and v.V p290.

(3) "French Mediaeval Romances from the Lays of Marie de France" Everyman, p.61.

(4) Published by O.Zielke: "Sir Orfeo, ein Englisches Feenmärchen aus dem Mittelalter" Breslau 1880; it is contained in the collection by D.Laing:"Select Remains of Popular Romance Poetry of Scotland" re-ed. J.Small, Ed. & Lond. 1885."Sir Orfeo"is English, not Scottish, but we have a ballad from Shetland on the same story. (Child, I, 215, no. 19)

(5) Child I 317-319 and notes.

(6) Arthur appears in some of the ballads, though more in English than in Scots.

Various other ballads have French parallels.[1] The one, apparently with the closest connection with French, is "Lady Isobel and the Elf-Knight",[2] for though the story is found widely distributed in many languages, the French and Scottish forms resemble each other most closely,[3] and the ballad is so very widely distributed in France, that it seems probable the story was borrowed from there.

Our study of the ballads shows that there was the same community of ideas in popular poetry as there was in more scholarly literature. In both, national characteristics give a distinctive colour, but the background is very much the same. Moreover, we can find in the ballads, traces of foreign literary forms which have not otherwise been preserved. The ballads are, of course, later than the Middle Scots period, but they serve to suggest what has been lost. How much that must be!

There are interesting differences between the Scottish and the French ballads. These make it clear that though the Scottish ballad makers sometimes made use of French lyric forms or fabliaux, Scottis balladry as a whole has

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(1) "The Twa Sisters" (no. 10) "Babylon" (no. 14) "Gil Brenton" (no. 5) "Lord Thomas and Fair Annet" (no.73), "Leesome Brand" (no. 15) and "The Gay Goshawk" (no.96)

(2) Child: "English and Scottish Popular Ballads" I, 22, no. 4, & III, 497, II, 497.

(3) Child, I 22-56, summarises the different versions.

very little connection with French. The folk-lyric, says Bartsch, always schools itself on the epic, hence its objectivity.(1) Hence too the courtly tone of the oldest French ballads,which come from a period (13th to 15th centuries) earlier than the Scottish. The French Chansons d'Histoire generally follow a set pattern;(2) they are more formal than the Scottish. Their heroines are usually royal or at least high born. The lady, Belle Isemburg, Belle Aaliz, Belle Ysabel, Belle Idoine,- is described in her home;(3) then the singer tells of her grief or of her love. The love story generally ends happily, Often the poem is more purely lyrical and has less action than is usual in our ballads. The refrain is more important, and, unlike the refrains of the Scottish ballads, it usually has a definite connection with the sense. There are also

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(1) C. or K. Bartsch:"Alte Französische Volkslieder Übersetzt von Karl Bartsch" Heidelberg, 1882. pp.v-vi.

(2) ibid. pp.vi-x.

(3) For example in"Bele Ysabel":

"En alte tor se siet bele Ysabel,
Son bias chief blon mist fuers par un crenel,
De larmes moille le lai de son mantel
R. 'E amis!
Por mesdisans suis fors de mon pais.'"

P.Paris:"Le Romancero français" Paris 1833, p.70.

The bob and wheel refrain is by no means uncommon. It appears again in "Bele Idoine": /

C H A P T E R V.

THE ALLEGORISTS - GAVIN DOUGLAS

Scottish allegorical poetry takes its inspiration primarily from Chaucer's early poems, including his translation of the "Roman de la Rose." King JamesI was the earliest Scottish poet to find his way into the famous rose garden, and his "King's Quair"[1] is modelled almost entirely on Chaucer's work. The poem is one of the most charming and truly poetic of the whole allegorical school, owing chiefly to its personal feeling and interest. The romance of the King's own life fits easily and naturally into an accepted literary form still fresh and full of poetry.[2] Allegory was not yet worn threadbare, as it was by the end of the fifteenth century. The dry rot of didacticism had not yet attacked Venus' palace. As in the French poets of the fourteenth century and as in Chaucer's early work, allegory is

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(1) S.T.S. ed. by W.W.Skeat, 1911. There is an earlier S.T.S. ed. of 1884.

(2) The authorship has of course been disputed, but without much success. See J.T.T.Brown: "The Authorship of "The King's Quair"" (Glasgow, 1896) See also J.J.Jusserant: "Le Roman d'un roi d'Ecosse" (Paris, 1895)

inseparably connected with the love cult of Venus and Cupid, its central figures are something more than mere abstractions; its imagery is still alive and pictorial.

James no doubt knew the poems of Froissart[1] and Machault[2] and perhaps of Deschamps,[3] as well as Chaucer's and the "Roman de la Rose." In fact he could not have escaped a knowledge of courtly French poetry. Chaucer and the Rose have such a great influence on his work that there is little indication in it of other models. Jean de Condé's "Messe des Oiseaux"[4] may have supplied the graceful idea of a message engraved on a gillieflower brought by the dove to the poet lover.[5] In this famous poem, where the birds sing a whole service in praise of Venus, the dove brings, as the "pax" used in the service, a piece of green rush from which comes a great sweetness.

Besides his references to the birds, always associated with Venus, James gives a long list of animals, each with its epithet.[6] Neither Chaucer nor the "Roman de la Rose"

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(1) ed. (M). A. Scheler, Brussels, 1870-1873.

(2) ed. P. Tarbé, Rheims and Paris, 1849.

(3) ed. G. Raynaud, S.A.T.F. Paris, 1878-1897.

(4) ed. A. Scheler in "Dits et Contes de Badouin de Condé et de son fils Jean de Condé" vol.III, Brussels, 1886 See W.A.Neilson "Origin and Sources of the Court of Love" pp.67,225-226. Boston, 1899.

(5) "King's Quair" stanza 178, p.44.

(6) ibid. stanzas 155-157; pp.38-39.

has a similar list. In "The Knight's Tale" the trees are similarly enumerated, and a poem would have been incomplete without some such catalogue. James's epithets are clearly copied from the bestiaries.(1) In the "Roman de la Rose" there is no mention of thorn trees, but James plants his garden with hawthorn(2), the favourite tree of Provençal and French lyric.

Professor Skeat has argued that James is the author of Fragment B of the English "Romaunt of the Rose."(3) The proofs are far from positive, but the theory seems very probably correct. Most of James's borrowings in "The King's Quair are from Chaucer's part of the Romaunt (Fragment A), and James evidently used the English, not the French version. Twice at least he borrows from a later part of the "Roman"(4)

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(1) See Skeat's notes in S.T.S. ed. p.90; "Knight's Tale" ll. 2920-2923.

(2) "The King's Quair" stanza 31, p.10

(3) In "The Athenaeum" 1899, nos. 3741 and 3743.

(4) ed. E.Langlois for the S.A.T.F. Paris, 1914-1924.

(Fragment B)[1], but makes no use of the French part which follows the fragment which Professor Skeat thinks that he translated. If James really translated part of the "Roman"

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(1) "King's Quair" stanza 175, p.43:
"A! merci, lord! quhat will ze do with me?
Quhat lyf is this? quhare hath my spirit be?
Is this of my forethoght Impressioun,
Or is it from the hevin a visioun?"

"Roman de la Rose" ll.2449-2451 (S.A.T.F. II, 125)
"E diras: "Deus, ai je songié?
Qu'est ice? Ou estoie gié?
Ceste pensee don me vint?"

"Romaunt of the Rose" Fragment B, ll 2581-2584:
"And say: 'Dere god, what thing is this?
My dreme is turned all amys,
Which was full swete and apparent;
But now I wake it is all shent.'"

Here the "King's Quair" is much nearer than Fragment B to the French original. Perhaps James had used up the dramatic phrases of the French in the "King's Quair" and then when he came to translate the French, if he did do so, he had to write something less interesting.
The second passage is:
"King's Quair" st. 139, p.35:
"And wold bene he that to hir worshipping
Myght ought auaile....."

"Roman de la Rose" l 2116, p 109: v. II
"En eus servir poine et labeure...."

Fragment B ll 2229-2230:
"Ande alle wymmen serve and praise,
And to thy power her honour reise."

Here James is closer to Fragment B.

he must, as we should expect, have had a very thorough knowledge of French.

Our next long Scottish allegory is Holland's "Buke of the Howlat"[1] written about 1450. Though it certainly belongs to the allegorical school, to call it an allegory is not quite correct, for it does not appear to have any definite allegorical meaning, unless some political significance which has not yet been made clear. The poem is an imitation of Chaucer's "Parlement of Foules" and, less directly, of the "Messe des Oiseaux". The scene is in May in a forest by a river, as in so many of the early allegorical dream poems. Here is set the story of the owl and his borrowed plumes. As in Chaucer's poem, Dame Nature takes the place which was originally the prerogative of Venus, and against her the Owl appeals to the Peacock, the pope of the birds. A great number of birds take part, representing the papal court and the Emperor (the Eagle) with his retinue. The idea of parodying the religious service, as in the "Messe des Oiseaux", is much clearer here than in Chaucer, for the minstrel birds sing a hymn not to Dame Nature but to the Virgin.[2] Here the parodied service sung

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(1) ed. by F.J.Amours in "Scottish Alliterative Poems" S.T.S. 1907, pp.47 ff; see the introduction II, pp XX-XXXIV. Amours gives the few facts which are known of Holland's life.

(2) ibid. ll.718 ff, p 71.

by the birds to Venus has been transferred back again. Another incident is borrowed from Jean de Condé; the birds' banquet is interrupted first by the Rook and then by the Lapwing and the Cuckoo,(1) two fools devoid of courtly manners. In the "Messe des Oiseaux" the Cuckoo's character is much the same; he interrupts the religious service in praise of Venus with his rude cries:(2)

"Mais aveuc iaus un oisiel ot
Qui moult desplot au rosseignot;
Oiant tous, le commande à taire;
Ce fu li kuqus de pute aire,
Ki à maint home a dit grant lait.
Vousist u non, le chanter lait,
Car li autre oisiel l'encachièrent
Et durement le manechièrent,
Si s'en fui tous estourdis."

Poor "darling of the spring"! He had a shocking character in the Middle Ages.

Birds always take a large part in the earlier allegories. They are indispensable in the descriptions of garden, meadow

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(1) "The Buke of the Howlat" ll.820 ff, p.75.

(2) Scheler's ed. III,5, l.140 ff. and W.A.Neilson op. cit. p.226.

or wood in spring, and as the attendants of Venus or Nature. They often sing love songs or religious hymns,[1] and in debates of "The Owl and the Nightingale" type[2] they discuss questions connected with love. Holland no doubt had a good knowledge of all this poetry, and we may be sure that he knew the "Messe des Oiseaux". His references to the House of Douglas are, of course, original, and have nothing to do with these literary sources.

Henryson,[3] like James, learned his art from Chaucer. Only a small part of his work belongs to the allegorical tradition, and though he says:

> "For I traistit that Venus, luifis Quene,
> To quhome sum tyme I hecht obedience,
> My faidit hart of lufe scho wald mak grene;....."[4]

he does not, like King James, represent himself as the conventional lover. The allegorical part of "the Testament of Cresseid", Cresseid's dream of the planets, is quite in Chaucer's manner. There is a suggestion of the Court of Love style in "Robene and Makyne" when Makyne tries to teach

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(1) See W.A.Neilson, op cit. pp.216 ff. Lydgate imitated the "Messe des Oiseaux" ibid, p.226. Dunbar and Lindsay both refer to the same idea, and Dunbar has a bird debate, "The Merle and the Nightingale" S.T.S. ed. II, 174 ff.

(2) See Chapter II, p 99.

(3) ed. by G.Gregory Smith, S.T.S. 1908.

(4) "Testament of Cresseid" ll. 22-24, vol.III, p.4.

Robene the duties of a lover:

"'At luvis lair gife thow will leir,
Tak thair ane a b c:
be heynd, courtass, and fair of feir,
Wyse, hardy and fre;
So þat no denger do the deir,
quhat dule in dern thow dre;
preiss the with pane at all poweir,
be patient and previe.'" (1)

This belongs not to the shepherdess of the pastourelle but to the lady of the courtly love poetry.

"The Bludy Serk" (2) is a simple little religious allegory, constructed on the plan of some romantic story or ballad. "The Garmont of Gude Ladies" (3) is another short didactic allegory, but of a different type. Henryson borrowed the central idea from a tediously long French work "Le Triumphe ou Parement des Dames d'Honnour" (4) by

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(1) S.T.S. v. III, 90, ll.17-24. See W.A.Neilson, op. cit. p.168 ff.

(2) Henryson, S.T.S. ed. III, 96.

(3) ibid. III, 102.

(4) "Le Triumphe des Dames" (the correct title) von Olivier de la Marche", ed.Julia Kalbfleisch, Rostock, 1901.

Olivier de la Marche, and with excellent judgment and taste compressed it into ten short stanzas.

G.Ellis, writing in 1801, who was the first to remark upom the source of this poem, says:

"This strange conversion of the virtues into the stock in trade of an allegorical mantua-maker, was first conceived by Olivier de la Marche....."(1)

but the idea was not strange at all, and the use of armour and mens' dress as symbols was quite a commonplace. It no doubt originated with Saint Paul.(2) It is used by Jean de la Motte, in his "Voie d'Enfer et de Paradis", who speaks of a "cotte de vilonie, manteau de maudisson et descri", etc.(3) King René speaks of allegorical armour in his "Livre du Coeur d'Amour Epris."(4) De la Marche was probably the first to apply the idea to womens' dress, though the symbol of some garment, or the girdle, which tested some virtue, usually chastity, was very ancient.

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(1) "Specimens of the Early English Poets" London 1801, I, 364

(2) "First Epistle to the Philippians" VI, 13-17.

(3) "Histoire Littéraire de la France" (Bénédictines) vol.XXXVI, p.82, Paris, 1924.

(4) ed. M.le Comte de Quatrebarbes, Angers 1845, vol. III. See W.A.Neilson, op. cit. p.90.
De Guilleville, in his "Pélérinage de la Vie Humaine" translated by Lydgate, makes use of allegorical armour (Ed. by F.J.Furnivall, E.E.T.S. ex.ser. 77, 83, 92; 1899-1904.)

Olivier de la Marche[1] was, like Georges Chastellain, and Jean Molinet, attached to the court of Burgundy, and, like theirs, his chronicles were better than his poetry. He served Philippe le Bon, Charles le Téméraire, Maximlian and Marie of Burgundy and Philippe le Beau, and died in 1502. He is a good example of the early Burgundian rhetorical school. Like a great number of the works of the Rhétoriqueurs "Le Triumphe des Dames," written probably in 1493 or 1494,[2] is a mixture of verse and prose. It is a remarkable padding out of a simple idea. Olivier takes each garment of a lady's costume, describes and allegorises it, and then tells a tale to exemplify the virtue he makes it represent. The slippers (pantouffles) represent humility, exemplified by the story of the "Pescheresse de Cananee"; the shoes (sollers) are diligence, the story of David; the stockings are perseverance, example, Saint Mary Magdalene; the garter is firm purpose, illustrated by Lucretia, and so on through twenty more garments and stories. Henryson's list gives different meanings to the clothes and there are no illustrative tales. The general idea is just the same, for Olivier says:

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(1) See Henri Stein: "Etude biographique, littéraire et bibliographique sur Olivier de la Marche" Acad. Royal de Belgique, Brussels, 1888.

(2) ibid. p.124.

"Paintre ne suis pour sa beauté pourtraire
mais je conclus ung abit lui parfaire,
tout vertueux, affin que je responde,
pour la parer devant dieu et le monde." (1)

and Henryson:

"I suld ane garmond gudliest
Gar mak hir body till." (2)

The same idea was again used in Scots by an unknown writer in 1572. In "The Lamentation of Lady Scotland", etc., Scotland says:

"My bodie was weill cled with Policie;
My hat was of Justice and Equitie;
My Coller, of trew Nichtbour lufe it was,
Weill prenit on with Kyndnes and solas;
My Gluifis wer of fre Liberalitie;
My Sleifis wer of to borrow and len glaidlie;
My Lais and Mailzies of trew permanence;
My stomak maid was of clene Conscience;

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(1) "Le Triumph des Dames", stanza 12, p.4.

(2) S.T.S. ed. III, p.102; ll 3 and 4.

My waist was gyrdit with Sobrietie;
My leggs and feit schod with Simplicitie....." (1)

but now her fine array is all ruined, and she describes the whole costume again in its wretchedness:

"My collar rent is be Dame Fremitnes....."etc. (2)

The later writer has modernised the garments and once more given them a different set of meanings.

In the Scottish "Lancelot of the Laik" (3) (c.1490) there is a prologue in the style of the allegorists, and no doubt copying that of Chaucer, in which a bird comes as a messenger from the God of Love to encourage the poet lover. This is an old convention.

We have already spoken of Dunbar's allegories; they are of the Chaucerian type, closely connected with the cult of the Rose.

With Gavin Douglas, (4) we reach a later period of allegory, when the didactic purpose is superseding the more spontaneous love cult. Douglas no longer copies, by way of Chaucer, the French poets of Machault's period, but goes directly to the later Grands Rhétoriqueurs for matter to supplement his Chaucerian borrowings.

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(1) J.Cranstoun: "Satirical Poems of the Time of the Reformation" S.T.S. 1891, II, 226, 228. (2) ibid, p.230

(3) Ed. M.Gray, S.T.S. 1912. (4) Ed. J.Small, Ed. 1874. See W.A.Neilson, op. cit. pp.160-163.

We might compare Douglas with many of the French fifteenth century poets, but the closest and most interesting parallel to him is that churchman and libertine, bishop and courtier, poet and moralist, master of rhetoric and translator of the classics, Octavien de Saint Gelais. Their careers and their work have several points in common, and there are divergences which are as interesting as the similarities.

Octavien de Saint Gelais (1) was born at Cognac in 1466, of the noble family of Lusignan. He studied at Paris, and, after a brilliant university career, he took orders. His character at this time was the reverse of priestly. "Devoré d'ambition, paien jusqu'au fond de l'âme, courtisan par hérédité et par goût, soumettant la morale à ses passions, ardent au plaisir et fort mondain, il restait fonctièrement étranger à l'esprit de l'Evangile." (2) He ruined his health and was forced to forego his pleasures and studies. Charles VIII with whom he was a favourite, induced the pope to confer on him the bishopric of Angoulême. Then a change came over him. Three years later he had left the court and sought by a reformed life, to blot out the failings of his youth. He died in 1502 at the age of thirty-six. His life story

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(1) See "Nouvelle Biographie générale" ed. J.C.F.Hoefer, Paris 1852-1866, vol.XLIII.

(2) H.Guy "Histoire de la Poésie française au XVIième siècle I, 137. (Paris, 1910)

is interesting, for it certainly influenced his literary work, and gave to it, beneath its exaggerated rhetoric, a depth of personal experience for which we look in vain in Douglas's poems.

This work consists of a collection of short poems, a long allegory, "Le Séjour d'Honneur" (1490-1494), translations of Ovid's "Heroides", of six of the comedies of Terence, and of the works of Vergil, finished in 1500. The "Vergier d'Honneur", a translation of Ovid's "Ars Amandi", and the "Chasse et Departit d'Amour" were published under his name, but, except for two pieces in the first of these, they are not of his authorship.(1)

Gavin Douglas,(2) born in 1474 or 1475, came, like Saint Gelais, of a noble family. His father was Archibald Douglas, fifth Earl of Angus, the famous "Bell the Cat."(3) Little is known of his early education, but he probably studied at Saint Andrews much the same matter as Saint Gelais in Paris.

Douglas took orders, and received various livings through the influence of his powerful family. About 1501 he was

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(1) The "Sejour d'Honneur" and "La Chasse et Departit d'Amour" were published by Antoine Verard in black letter at Paris in the early 16th century. "Le Vergier d'honneur", in equally black letter, was sold by Philippe le Notre at Paris about 1520.

(2) See the autobiographical introduction to Small's ed.

(3) The name is a reference to an old fable first found in Latin, then in a French "Ysopet" and later in a ballade (LVIII) by Deschamps: "Le chat et les Souris". See note to Deschamps, S.A.T.F. I,151 and 348.

appointed dean or provost of Saint Giles, Edinburgh, probably in reward for his poem "The Palice of Honour." Between this date and 1513, little is known of his career; he was evidently busy with his literary work, and may have travelled abroad. After Flodden he was a close councillor of the widowed queen, and it seems likely that he forwarded her hasty marriage with his nephew, the young earl of Angus. Like Saint Gelais, Douglas was an ambitious courtier, and he hoped for advancement through this match, but the way in which "all the court was rewlit by the Erle of Angus, Mr Gawin Dowglass and the Drummonds, but that nocht weill,"(1) irritated the rest of the nobility, always ready for a quarrel. There was anarchy in the land, but Douglas, with the title of Chancellor, held the great seal for some time. The plots in which he and the English faction were engaged, add little honour to his memory. The fruits of his diplomacy were hard to hold, for, though the queen had him appointed to the bishopric of Saint Andrews, he could not maintain his rights against the rival claims of John Hepburn

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(1) Small's introduction, p.XVII, quoting "a contemporary diary."

and Andrew Forman. He was ousted by violence and intrigue both from his abbacy of Arbroath and from the primacy of Scotland.

He gained and lost the bishopric of Dunkeld, was imprisoned for treasonable practices, set free and restored. He went on embassy to France (1517); lost his bishopric again, went into exile, and not long after, in 1522, he died of the plague in London, at the age of forty-eight.

Such was the course of worldly ambition in the stormy minority of James V, when the continual strife of factions at Court put power and life itself in constant danger.. Douglas does not seem to have been any worse than the churchmen of his day, and he certainly had his share of misfortune. There is no indication that he spent his youth in the wild ways of Octavien; he never set aside his ambitions to retire into a voluntary exile, as Octavien did. In fact, after the completion of his Aeneid, he laid aside his literary work, to devote himself to politics.

Like Saint Gelais, Douglas was a translator of the classics and a writer of allegories. Both of them, in spite of their classical learning are entirely mediaeval in spirit.

In his youth, Douglas translated Ovid's "De Remedio Amoris", but this is now lost.(1) Saint Gelais had also

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(1) Small's introduction, p.CXXVIII.

translated one of Ovid's works.

Saint Gelais' translation of the Aeneid was finished about 1500, Douglas's in 1512 or 1513. An exhaustive study of Douglas's work and a comparison of it with Octavien's has been made by a German scholar, Aloys Schumacher.(1) As it is very thorough there is nothing left to say on the matter. His conclusion is that Douglas knew the French translation but was not indebted to it. Douglas says nothing of any indebtedness to French models in the Prologue to Book I. In the Prologue to Book VI he refers to Saint Gelais' translation of the Georgics, and it is very unlikely that he did not know his translation of the Aeneid as well:

> "Quat sall I of his wondir werkis sane?
> For all the plesance of the camp Elise
> Octavian, in his Georgikis ȝe may se."(2)

One passage in the Prologue to Book I might possibly refer to Octavien's work:

> "Ye worthy nobillis reidis my werkis forthy,
> And cast this wther buik on syde fer by,

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(1) "Des Bischofs Gavin Douglas Übersetzung der Aeneis Virgils" etc. Strassburg, 1910, p.126.

(2) Small's ed. III, 4; ll 28-30.

Quhilk, ondir colour of sum Franch strang wicht,
So frenchlie leis, oneth twa wourdis gais richt." (1)

But when one reads the whole passage it seems quite clear that Douglas is still speaking of Caxton's translation of a French romance purporting to tell the story of Aeneas, but straying far from its historical sources. The individual variations, tautologies and anachronisms, which, according to the manner of the time, both Saint Gelais and Douglas admitted into their translations, do not coincide, and show no connection between the two versions. (2)

If Douglas really knew the French work, either he did not have it by him to imitate, or he did not think it worth copying. From all accounts it is inferior to his own. It has been called an execrable translation, a real massacre, an involuntary parody, leaving nothing of the spirit of Vergil. (3)

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(1) Small's ed. II, 11, lines 25-28.

(2) Schumacher remarks that the metrical forms of the two translations are the same, iambic pentameter, that both have verses giving the contents as headings to each book, but these are not alike, and the practice of adding such headings was a common one. Both have rubrics, but not in the same words, nor at the same places. Both writers add additional words and phrases by way of ornamentation, but these do not coincide. Op. cit. p.126.

(3) H.Guy, op. cit. pp.153-154.

Douglas's original prologues are of more interest than the translation itself. They are in fact the most original part of all his work. Though his outlook is typically meiaeval, he does show a genuine, if conventional, appreciation of Vergil's style. It is, for him, something infinitely far removed, in another world:

> "Quhy suld I than, with dull forhede and wane,
> With ruide engine and barrand emptive brane,
> With bad harsk speche and lewit barbour tong,
> Presume to write quhar thi sueit bell is rong,
> Or contirfait sa precious wourdis deir?
> Na, na, nocht sua, bot knele quhen I thame heir." (1)

and in the prologues, even while he writes of Vergil, we constantly notice the ideas and manners of the Middle Ages. Though Douglas condemns Caxton's work for giving too important a place to the story of Dido, his Prologue to the fourth book gives a purely mediaeval view of love in accordance with Chaucer and the courtly tradition, and the love poetry of spring and the allegorists appears again in his description of May in the Prologue to Book XII. Here the influence of Saint Gelais' rhetorical style with its

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(1) Small's ed. II, 3-4; lines 18-p.41.4.

Latinised words and its glitter, is clearly evident, though both writers were probably imitating the Georgics:

"As fresch Aurora, to mychty Tythone spous,
Ischit of hir safron bed and evir hous,
In crammysin cled and granit violat,
With sanguyne cape, the selvage purpurat,
Onschot the windois of hyr large hall,
Spred all wyth rosys, and full of balm ryall,
And eik the hevinly portis crystallyne
Vpwarpis braid, the warld to illumyn." (1)

Octavien employs a very similar style to tell us that the dawn appeared:

"Le lendemain sur la poincte du iour
Que la dame du matutin seiour
Dicte aurora p̃pare sa grãt salle
En region et part orientalle
Et quelle veult de rubis et ballaiz
Enluminer son radieux pallais
Le decorant de couleur rubifique
Pour le rendre parfait et aũtentique

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(1) Small's ed. IV, 80; lines 13-20.

Lors se siouyt et euure sa grand chambre
Plus redollent souef que ne fait ambre...." (1)

The enumeration we find in this Prologue is a favourite device of the Rhétoriqueurs; the description of the young girls singing belongs to the French pastoral fashion, but Douglas is copying Vergil also, and the vines and olives of Italy flourish along with the hawthorn of Provence, the lilies of France and the familiar wild flowers of Scotland.

In the last Prologue, Douglas uses the conventional dream setting in the traditional way.

Saint Gelais's allegory in verse and prose, "Le Séjour d'Honneur" very probably gave Douglas some material for his so-called original poems. (2) Both poets copied Chaucer, particularly "The Hous of Fame", Vergil, and possibly Dante, and this accounts for some of the likenesses between their works. Both write according to the allegorical tradition, with a good knowledge of earlier French literature, and both have a strong tendency to moralise and to elaborate their rhetoric purely for its own sake, though in this Octavien far outdoes the Scottish poet.

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(1) "Le Sejour d'honneurs", etc., printed by A. Verard, Paris 1519, p.61, beginning of Book II.

(2) See P. Lange: "Chaucers Einfluss auf die Originaldichtungen des Schotten Douglas", Anglia VI, p.83; Halle 1883.

Douglas's "Palice of Honour" does not follow the same plan as "Le Séjour d'Honneur."(1) It belongs to the descriptive type of dream allegory; the poet is merely an attentive sight-seer, before whom pageants, palaces and celebrities present themselves. Octavien's poem belongs to the biographical kind; the poet goes on a pilgrimage through life and takes an active part throughout. The visit to the Palace of Honour is only one episode.

Douglas seems to have tried to work into his poem every element of the allegorical tradition. He begins in the early style of the love allegories, very close to the early lyric. The poet, like Chaucer's Arcite, rises to do honour to May. We expect to find him appropriately a lover, like de Lorris and Froissart, rather than a clerk. Douglas gives his May setting a fifteenth century appearance by describing the flowers in the likeness of jewels. Chaucer's gardens do not have this hard glitter; but it is typical of the Rhétoriqueurs.

We have the traditional song to May,(2) but since the poet does not represent himself as a lover, he hears, but does not sing the song. The substance of it could be traced

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(1) David Irving in his "History of Scotish Poetry" p.227, (Ed. 1861) suggested that the "Palice of Honour" was founded on Octavien's poem. This is certainly not he case, in spite of some similarities.

(2) Small's ed. I, 3.

back for centuries to the "Pervigilium Veneris." The poet echoes it with some verses of his own [1] and then, again like the traditional lover, he faints and has the inevitable vision.

Douglas has now thoroughly "done" the May setting, but, perhaps because he felt that this sort of introduction was already worn threadbare, he adds a second setting, making it a complete contrast. Instead of a spring garden, he sees in his dream a wintry desert. Instead of pleasant flowers and trees, streams and pools, there are only barren and blasted stumps and the stinking rivers of Hades. The weather too, is a contrast. To balance the song to May we have a ballade on the cruelty of Fortune, [2] an equally well worn subject.

In this description, Vergil's Hades certainly plays a large part, and we are vaguely reminded of Dante's "selva selvaggia ed aspre e forte", [3] and of the passage in "The Hous of Fame" possibly suggested by it, [4] but the desert enjoyed a certain ammount of popularity in French literature as a resort of poets out of tune with the more cheerful

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(1) Small's ed. I, 4.

(2) ibid. pp.8-9. The ballade is very rhetorical.

(3) "Inferno" canto I, lines 1-12.

(4) "The Hous of Fame" lines 480-490.

garden, meadow or forest.Deschamps wrote a "Lay du Desert d'Amours"[1] in "L'Hospital d'Amours"[2] wrongly attributed to Alain Chartier, a horrible desert is described full of the corpses of lovers. Octavien in "Le Séjour d'Honneur" wanders over the desert of "aspre melencoye";[3] but the most likely pattern for Douglas's description and one which really bears a very close resemblance to it, is in "Le Vergier d'Honneur"[4] attributed to Saint Gelais, but really by André de la Vigne. Here the description is used not as an incident in the allegory, but as a setting for the whole story, as in Douglas's poem. This prologue seems to be based, like "the Complaynt of Scotlande" on Alain Chartier's "Quadrilogue Invectif." The poet in a dream sees in a desert place Dame Chrestienté in pitiful distress. She complains to Dame Noblesse that there is no-one to defend her against the infidels. Noblesse consoles her with the news that a sibyl has predicted the birth of a prince who will take

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(1) Deschamps, ed. St-Hilaire (S.A.T.F. Paris, 1878-97) vol.II, pp.182-192. See W.A.Neilson, op. cit. p.75.

(2) "Oeuvres" ed. Du Chesne, (Paris, 1617) pp.722 ff. W.A.Neilson op. cit. p.87.

(3) "Le Séjour d'Honneur" pp.290-291.

(4) "Le Vergier d'Honneur" printed in Paris about 1520. Written about 1496. On André de la Vigne and his work, see H.Guy op. cit. chapter IV, and E.de Kerdaniel: "Un Rhétoriqueur, André de la Vigne" Paris 1919.

arms for her defence. This prince is Charles VIII, before whom, as "Majeste royal" the two ladies plead their cause in the "Vergier d'Honneur." The Italian campaign is planned, and the rest of the book is an historical account of the war.

De la Vigne's description of the desert is a truly remarkable piece of rhetoric:

"Mesmement et par expres en ung furieux maussade et infertil desert. Du q̃l ronces/ espines/ chardds/ genestz et ioncmarins faisoient plantureuse croissance selon disposition naturelle. Pour enclos certain dũg coste la dãgereuse sombrunye (1) / la tenebreuse et mal eclarcie forest. En laquelle souches/ troncs darbres bois/ bocaiges et maulx plaisans ramaiges estoient ainsi q̃ chose creue sans art et sans mesure. A lopposite dicelle auoit de eaue trouble/ terreuse/ cadauere et puante. La dangereuse riuiere ou violẽt fleuue stigieux sans comparaison de doubteuse espece trop plus que le Ras sainct mahe les destroitz de byle (1) des ou le pertuis de maumusson de cours affreux ioignant ung paludin bourbier en semblable estat des esnozmes lacs et sterilzestãgs de flegectõ/ acheron et

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(1) Here the print is blotted and indistinct and the reading doubtful. (From the copy in the British Museum.)

cochite. Au tours des enuirons pierres/ cailloux/ rochiers/ impenetrables soubterranes daffreuses concauitez en mostures gargarines et de hausteurs parnassees. Voyant doncques telz especes de caligineuse amertumes obtemperant a desir de cueur comme presse par raisonnable inspection trouuer sentier requis ou lieu nundineulx pour elapser....." (1)

After reading this, one need never complain of obscurity in Douglas!

There is more vegetation in de la Vigne's description, but Douglas frequently speaks of his desert place as a wood, though he does not mention the kinds of trees in it. The stinking rivers likened to Cocytus and the rough and stony nature of the ground, are the same in both descriptions. Douglas alone mentions the horror of the wind, but the climate of his native country could account for that, while the Muse alone can tell where he found the idea of his "ȝelland fisch." (2) Can this be an echo of some Celtic fairy tale, some slandered troutling of the sacred well?

De la Vigne's desert is planned to be in harmony with the distressing picture of his lady, but Douglas's descriptoin has no raison d'être except the purely literary one

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(1) "Le Vergier d'Honneur" sig.A ii. We might compare Sackville's dreary winter scene in the "Induction". (ed. R.W.Sackville-West, London 1859)

(2) "The fisch ȝelland as eluis schoutit." I,8,line 6.

of its author's desire to add one more set piece in the latest style to his collection. The correct traditional setting for the processions he is about to describe is the forest, and in fact, whenever they appear, the setting tacitly changes to a wood.

Before this, however, the poet has hidden in a tree,(1) not, as is usually the case, to overhear some lady's conversation, but to escape a herd of wild beasts. The animals are another link with the forest hunting poems, such as Nicole de Margival's "Panthère d'Amours."(2)

Three processions pass successively before the poet, Minerva, Diana and Venus, each with their appropriate followings. The descriptions and enumerations are quite conventional, but that Diana should ride upon an elephant is a curious touch.(3)

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(1) Small's ed. p.10, line 3

(2) "Le Dit de la Panthère d'Amours" ed. H.A.Todd, (S.A.T.F. Paris, 1883)

(3) Small's ed. I, 14, line 21. In the bestiaries the elephant had a reputation for chastity, which is probably the reason why Douglas associates him with Diana. He was said to have no inclination to seek for a mate until he had tasted the root of the mandrake:

"Oc he arn so kolde of kinde
ðat no golsipe if hem minde,
til noten of a gref,
þe name if mandragoref,"

(From a bestiary from the Arundel MS in "An Old English Miscellany", ed. R.Morris, E.E.T.S., 49; 1872.)

The allegorical dream procession has a very long history, from the journey of Phillis and Flora to seek for Cupid,[1] down to Shelley's vision of "The Triumph of Life." Mediaeval Latin writers used this dream form; in the "Metamorphosis Goliae Episcopi"[2] the poet has a vision of Pallas and of Venus, each with their courts, and his description of their music bears some resemblance to Douglas's. In French, in "Venus la deesse d'amor",[3] the goddess of love rides in procession with her damsels; in Thibaut's "Roman de la Poire"[4] Love rides by with birds and music; "La Panthère d'Amours"[5] includes a procession of the God of Love with his musicians. Petrarch's "Triomfi"[6] ensured that the Mediaeval processional form should survive the Renaissance. It is one of the few allegorical conventions which is not used by Chaucer. Essentially pictorial, ~~it belongs to the~~

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(1) "De Phyllide et Flora" in "The Latin Poems attributed to Walter Mapes" (Camden Soc. 16; London, 1841.)ed. T.Wright, p.258. Neilson, "Court of Love" pp34-35.

(2) contained in the above, Vol.I, p.20.

(3) See Neilson, "Court of Love" p.42.

(4) ibid. pp.56-57. Ed. by F.Stehlich, Halle, 1881.

(5) ibid. p.69. Ed. by H.A.Todd, S.A.T.F., Paris 1883.

(6) ibid. pp.113-114. The triumph form used by Petrarch comes from Ovid. In French poetry the processions tend to be journeyings rather than triumphs. The forest setting was originally a German characteristic. Neilson, p.128

it belongs to the earlier allegorical school rather than to the Rhétoriqueurs, and Douglas is copying an old tradition, not any particular author.

When he has watched the three processions, it is time for the hidden poet to be discovered according to precedent. For this end, he sings a remarkably tactless ballade just as Venus is passing by.(1) Exactly as Froissart's ladies, Plaisance and Esperance, overheard the hidden poet's song on the hardheartedness of his lady,(2) so Venus heard Douglas sing his "ballet of inconstant love", and declared that he was worthy of death. In "The Legend of Good Women", Chaucer, who copied Froissart, is discovered by the God of Love, but not through an overheard ballad.(3) Douglas seems to be copying Froissart, not Chaucer, here.

The poet is now accused, as in Froissart and Chaucer, but Douglas carries out this passage in proper legal form according to the later, fifteenth century fashion.(4)

Another procession now appears, consisting of the Muses and poets, who obtain the accused's pardon. Like Froissart he sings a short"ballat for Venus pleasour",(5) and is then

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(1) Small's ed. p.24.

(2) in the Paradys d'Amour" line 249, ed. A.Scheler, Brussels 1870-73; I, 8.

(3) version A.line 237; version B.line 311 ff. Globe ed. pp.592-3.

(4) "The Palice of Honour" p.27. See infra, p. 218.

(5) ibid. p.39; "Paradys d'Amour" pp.26-27.

provided with a qualified guide to conduct his tour of allegorical sight-seeing. The guide, a very necessary person in poems of this kind, is "ane sweit nimphe maist faithfull and decoir"[1], according to the French tradition.

The horse with which Douglas was provided "Was harneist all with wodbind leuis grene"[2], no doubt as a symbol of the service of love, like the periwinkle wreathes worn by mourners in the lovers' testaments.[3] In a poem in the "Jardin de Plaisance" we find horses trapped with marjoram[4] for the retinue of the Eye, personified as a knight. Douglas, according to his character in the poem, has no right to a love symbol, but this is typical of his way of using traditional features with no regard for their propriety.

The nymph takes the poet on a most instructive geographical trip. Unlike Lindsay's view of the earth in "The Dreme", Douglas's geography is entirely classical. At last they come to a plain where they find a "palzeoun"[6] of the poets. The tent or pavilion occurs in Froissart's "Paradys

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(1) "The Palice of Honour" p.41, line 21. Neilson p.214.

(2) ibid, p.41, line 23. (3) see chapter VI, p.236.

(4) "Le Débat du Coeur et de l'Œil" (c.143) fol.LV; ed. A. Piaget and E. Droz, vol II, p.96.

(5) See p.233.

(6) "The Palice of Honour", p.45.

d'Amour"[1] which Douglas knew and used, in Machault's "Dit dou Lyon"[2] in the "Chastel de Joyeuse Destinée"[3] and in other poems. Froissart and Machault no doubt thought of the romances and of their own experiences.

Douglas continues his journey, and at last reaches his goal, the Palace of Honour itself. The description of a palace or castle is generally the pièce dé résistance of the allegorists. Their gorgeous palaces are found first in classical literature, where they are the homes of the gods.[4] In the Middle Ages, their original owners are displaced by abstractions such as Plaisance, Fame or Honour.[5] Honour was a favourite personality. Froissart wrote a "Temple d' Onnour"[6] which starts in a forest, and where the poet rides with his guide, as Douglas does, to the temple. Octavien's description of Honour's palace[7] is not particularly close to Douglas's; both copy Chaucer's "Hous of Fame."

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(1) "Paradys d'Amour" line 1045, p.32.

(2) ed. E.Hoepffner, S.A.T.F. Paris 1908-21, vol.II, p.159, Neilson, "Court of Love" p.62.

(3) "Jardin de Plaisance" I, fol.XXV V°; notes in vol.II, p.90

(4) In Claudian's "De Nuptiis Honorii et Mariae" and in Ovid's "Metamorphosis" XII, 36-63 Neilson, pp.12, 15-16.

(5) Bishop Grossetete (13th cent. Anglo-Norman) wrote of a castle symbolising the qualities of the Virgin Mary. (ed. M.Cooke, Caxton Soc. London, 1852.)

(6) Froissart, II, 162 (7) "Le Séjour d'Honneur" Bk IV, p. 253.

The "Palice" is more like one described by Jean Lemaire de Belges in his "Concorde des deux Langages",(1) but as this poem is supposed to have been written in 1512, Douglas could not have used it as a model.

Douglas describes his palace as situated on a plain on the top of a rock. This seems remarkable enough if we attempt to visualise a crystalline Table Mountain with the vegetation more luxuriant at the top than at the bottom. It is as well not to question too closely , and to remember that a similar site had long before been chosen by Claudian:

"a flat plain on the top of a mountain, inaccessible to the foot of man..... Here there blows no wind nor does winter bring snow, but in perpetual spring the flowers bloom and among the trees sing only those birds whose song has been approved by Venus. .....There are two fountains, one sweet and one bitter, in which the arrows of Cupid receive their temper. "(2)

Douglas's description of the "plane" "pleneist with plesance like to paradice"(3) where:

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(1) See Paul Spaak: "Jean Lemaire de Belges, sa vie, son oeuvre, et ses meilleurs pages" Paris, 1926, pp.100-101, 264-267; or the ed. by J.Stecher, Louvain 1882, vol.III, p.98.

(2) Neilson: "Court of Love" pp.15-16.

(3) "The Palice of Honnour" p.54, line 15.

"Still in the sessoun all things remanit thair,
Perpetuallie but outher noy or sair,
Ay rypit war baith herbis, frute and flouris" (1)

preserves the quality of fruitfulness which is an attribute of Venus, not of Honour. Venus in fact, cannot be kept out of the picture, but since the palace itself is occupied, she is enthroned in the garden.

Before reaching the palace, Douglas looks fearfully down from the mountain, he had not a good head for heights, and sees below him the "Loch of Cair" burning in "ane fyrie rage." He sees people there battered against the rocks, and a good ship the "Carwell of the State of Grace" fighting the storm, and wrecked. (2)

This is the first passage which we can definitely say is borrowed from Saint Gelais, for in "Le Séjour d'Honneur" Octavien sails over the "Mer Mondaine" in which he sees a great crowd of people floating helplessly, and in which his ship, like the one seen by Douglas, is wrecked. (3)

The palace itself may owe something to Saint Gelais (4) but these descriptions are such a commonplace of mediaeval

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(1) "The Palice of Honour" p.54, lines 25-27.

(2) ibid. pp.52-53.

(3) "Le Séjour d'Honneur" Bk II, p.61, Bk III p.167; Octavien is probably imitating Dante's "Inferno."

(4) "The Palice of Honour" pp.55-69; "Le Séjour d'Honneur" p.253.

poetry that there is little hope of finding any definite model.[1] Douglas makes his pinnacles all a-glitter with precious stones in the true rhetorical style; in his description he is more objective than Octavien, who describes the impression of beauty and magnificence the palace makes upon him, rather than the building itself.[2] Both descriptions mention "images" in connection with the buildings, but while Octavien is content with those of Justice and Peace, Douglas has almost the entire universe "ingraue" at the entrance, with a comprehensiveness worthy of Aeneas' shield. There is no connection between the inhabitants of the castles; the only personification which is the same in both poems is Honour himself.

In another part of Saint Gelais' work, there is a description of the Palace of Vaine Esperance,[3] showing the love for jewels and glitter which is so characteristic of Douglas.

The rest of the Scottish poem consists of a long enumeration of famous persons whom the poet sees in Venus'

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(1) We might compare Lydgate's "Temple of Glass" ed. J.Schick, E.E.T.S. ex.ser. LX, 1891.
Hawes' castles in "The Pastime of Pleasure" ed. W.E. Mead, E.E.T.S. no.173, 1928(for 1927) and Neville's "Castell of Pleasure" ed. R.D.Cornelius, E.E.T.S. 1930 no.179.

(2) The architectural description is not unlike that in "Sir Gawain and the Green Knight" lines 785 ff. ed. J.R.R.Tolkien and E.V.Gordon, Oxford 1925 p.25.

(3) "Séjour d'Honneur" p.95.

mirror;[1] a description of the Court of Honour and of the inside of the palace, and the explanations and moralisings of the guide in which we can hear an echo of the Dance Macabre.[2] Before we have the full description of the garden to which the nymph is about to conduct her charge, Douglas suddenly wakes, roused by his dream of falling into the palace moat,[3] and with a "ballade in commendation of honour and vertue" he concludes his poem.

The most noticable thing about the whole allegory is the thoroughness with which Douglas has worked though almost every feature of the allegorical school, with no regard for consistency,-a quite negligible virtue at that time. In his second "original" poem, he supplements what he has already done.

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(1) A borrowing from Chaucer's Squire's Tale. "Palice of Honour" p.57.

(2) "The Palice of Honour" p.74.

(3) Perhaps the narrow bridge is reminiscent of the "perilous passage" in the Arthurian Romances,,and some English allegories. See the introduction to Neville's "Castell of Pleasure" E.E.T.S. 1930, pp.18-19.

"King Hart"[1] belongs not to the pictorial, but to the biographical type of allegory.[2] Nearly everything is represented by personification, not by descriptions of places. This, and its simplicity make the poem rather more dramatic, but distinctly monotonous. The plan is by no means unusual, but it is quite likely, that Douglas borrowed it from Saint Gelais' "Séjour d'Honneur."[3] If so, Douglas must be given credit for brevity, "the soul of wit."

The likeness of the two stories is not very close, but in their general features they do coincide. In the "Séjour d'Honneur" the poet follows his guide Sensualité along the wrong branch of the Chemin de Jeunesse, just as King Hart:

"Onlie to love, and verrie gentilnes,
He wes inclynit cleinly to remane,
And wonn vnder the wyng of wantownnes."[4]

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(1) Small's ed. I, 85. ff. Written probably between 1501 and 1512; see introduction p.CXXXIX.

(2) Stephen Hawes' "Pastime of Pleasure" an early 16th century allegory, (E.E.T.S. 1928 for 1927) is a good example of the biographical type. It contains a temple of Venus and many castles. As in "Le Séjour d'Honneur" and"King Hart" Age puts an end to the happiness of the hero. (lines 5348 ff.)
Another long and very didactic allegory of the biographical type is"Le Pélerinage de la Vie Humaine" by Guillaume de Guileville (14th cent.) which Lydgate translated into English verse. ("The Pilgrimage of the life of Man" ed. F.J.Furnivall,,E.E.T.S. ex. ser. nos. 77,83 and 92; 1899-1904) Perhaps Saint Gelais copied it.

(3) See P.Lange, op. cit. p.86.
(4) "King Hart" p.85, lines 14-16. Small's vol.I.

Octavien and Sensualité, after lodging with Peu d'Avis, take ship on the Mer Mondaine. This roughly corresponds to "The desyris of the Hart in ȝouth."

After finding Vaine Esperance, Octavien is met by Grace Divine who enters into a long discussion with him. The poet decides to traverse the Mer Mondaine again, this time in search of Honour. In the laboured rhetorical discussions Octavien is attempting to describe his own inner life, and behind the tortuous style there lies a real experience. This is utterly different from the simple, objective style of"King Hart:"

"vaines esperãce et fol abus mẽt bien pensoiẽt par tel moyen incite ma fragilite a lexercise acoustume/ mais ie q^i encores avoye en fraiz record lexhortaciõ salutaire dicelle souueraine princesse grace diuine qui doulcemẽt auoit estante ici deuant au pres de moy ce que p une inspiracion vertueuse auoit aucunemet retire en moy le tyson de vraye charite ia forment de dans mõ cueur estaincte et suffoquee/ tournay a lors la cheuille de linstument organicque de mõ sens tellement que la replique de ma corde fu dissonante aux vrbes de leurs simphonies et fiz responce dung rondeaux contrariant a leurs plaisirs.."(1)

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(1) "Le Séjour d'Honneur" p.155.

At last[1] the poet comes to the Palace of Honour; he gives himself up to worldly goods; he fights in a tournament against the world, is beaten and cries for mercy. Wounded and weary he tries to leave the palace, but he is met by the porter Age; he cannot have his life over again.[2] Similarly, Age comes to the castle of King Hart, to end his worldly prosperity.[3]

Regret seizes Octavien, and he is thrown into the desert of "Aspre Melencolye."[4] Here the allegory is almost forgotten and the poet seems to be thinking only of his personal experience. Douglas, on the other hand, makes quite a dramatic scene out of his personifications when Youthheid and his pleasant company desert their king, when Dame Plesance "wryit about for proper teyne" and when "Conscience come cryand about the wall."[5] Nothing avails, and Octavien, like King Hart, has to bid farewell to vain loves, riches, drink and sweet living, the former at the bidding of Conscience, the latter at that of Reason. Sensualité

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(1) I have missed out some incidents which have no connection with Douglas.

(2) "Le Séjour d'Honneur" p.289.

(3) "King Hart" I, 101, line 19.

(4) "Le Séjour d'Honneur" PP.290-291.

(5) "King Hart" pp.103-104.

leaves her old companion;[1] Dame Plesance deserts King Hart.[2] Decrepitude[3] in the Scottish poem corresponds to the hideous hag "Maladie" who wraps the French poet in her poisonous mantle and kerchief.[4]

The stories have to end differently. Octavien is led by Reason to the hermitage of "Entendement"[5] where he settles down to a religious life. Douglas is able to finish with his hero's death and ends with strict logic. Hart, struck down by illness, is almost deserted by his councillors:

> "Ressoun forfochtin [wes] and ewill drest;
> And Wisdome wes ay wanderand to the dure:
> Conscience lay [him] doun ane quhyle to rest,
> Becaus he saw the King wourd waik and pure...."[6]

He calls upon Death, makes his will, still regretting his lusty youth, one feels, in the midst of repentance, and so dies.

There is another history of "King Heart" which Douglas may have known and which may have given him some hints

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(1) "Le Séjour d'Honneur" p.313.

(2) "King Hart" p.112 (3) ibid. p.117.

(4) "Le Séjour d'Honneur" p.291 (5) ibid. p.313.

(6) "King Hart" p.117; lines 21-24.

for his own work. This is "Le Livre de Cuer d'Amour esprins" by René of Anjou, written about 1457.(1)

René, Duke of Anjou, Lorraine and Bar, Count of Provence and Piedmont, King of Naples, Sicily and Jerusalem, is one of the most attractive characters of his time. Poet, painter and builder, he seems to have belonged more to the ideal world of Plaisance, Esperance, Attente and Melancolie than to the harsh reality of constant struggling to retain his many possessions. In this he was usually unsuccessful. His life was as adventurous as Douglas's, but his nature seems as different as is the amber light of a Provençal landscape from the blues and purples of the north.

René's "Livre de Cuer" is a love romance, not a moral allegory. It ends not with a death-bed scene, but with the hero left upon the island of love, where the air is clean and pure, without wind or clouds. Love, to René, is the spirit's goal, not the body's temptation. In some of his other works, he took up a didactic and moral attitude, but he does not allow it to intrude on his love poems.

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(1) "Oeuvres complètes du Roi René avec une biographie et des notices" par M.le Comte de Quatrebarbes, Angers 1845, in vol.III.
See also P.Champion: "Le Roi René, Ecrivain" Monaco, 1925. pp.20-24, and A.Vallet de Viriville on René in "Nouvelle Biog. Générale", ed. Hoefer, Paris 1855-66.

King René is a spirit akin to Charles d'Orléans, and his allegorical romance of the Heart, in prose and verse, is modelled mainly on Charles's poems. The idealistic, courtly and rather sentimental tone is the same in both. "Cuer", followed by "Désir" rides joyously forth on the journey of life. He passes the manor of "Dame Esperance", the hermitage of the Dwarf "Jalousie", the famous "Foret de Longue Attente", the fountain of tears, the old woman "Mélancolie", and so on. He is as conscientious a tourist as Octavien himself. During his adventures he is made prisoner, by "Dame Tristesse", and put in the dungeon of her castle. King Hart has a very similar misfortune. The Castle of Plaisance,—"Plesance" appears as a character in "King Hart",—is built on a somewhat similar plan to the "Palice of Honour", but is even more magnificently built of precious stones and pearls. The most striking point about it is not its emerald foundations, its crystal walls nor its orient pearl the size of a cannon-ball, but that:

"ledit beau chastel estoit de façon telle comme celue de Saumur en Anjou qui est assis sur la rivière de Loire, sinon qu'il estoit de grandeur et de l'espace la moictié plus large et plus spacieux." (1)

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(1) "Oeuvres complètes" vol.III, p.145.

René had been busy rebuilding Saumur, his favouite home. We look in vain for such a delightfully personal touch in Douglas.

The likeness between the works is confined to the names, the general plan and the adventures in the dungeon, not much certainly, but worth considering.

In "Le Chastel de Joyeuse destinee" (1) written about 1460, some features remind one of "King Hart." The poet finds a disconsolate lover in a forest and accompanies him to a castle inhabited by a company not unlike that of Dame Plesance. They visit a desert region, fight with the Vaudois rebels, and are entertained as conquerors in two pavilions by ladies, and are delivered as prisoners to the God of Love. In another poem of the same collection, the Heart is personified and has a combat with the Eye, whose attendants are dressed in garments of green periwinkle, and ride on horses trapped with marjoram. (2)

The Castle of Plaisance (3) is quite traditional. It appears in "La Departie d'Amours" by Blaise d'Auriol, (4) and in "La Chasse et le Depart d'Amours" wrongly attributed to Saint Gelais, (5) in which the allegory bears some resemblance

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(1) In "Le Jardin de Plaisance" fol. XXV V°; notes, vol.II, p9U

(2) ibid. fol.LV, notes, II, 94. (3) "King Hart" pp.88-89.

(4) C.P.Goujet: "Bibliothèque fr." X, 303-307

(5) Printed by A.Verard, Paris 1509, sig. Dii, verso.

to the earlier part of "King Hart."

Douglas imitated the style as well as the matter of the French Rhétoriqueurs, and was accepted as a great master of language. Lindsay bears testimony to his reputation:

> "Alace! for one, quhilk lampe wes of this land,
> Of Eloquence the flowand balmy strand,
> And in our Inglis rethorick, the rose,
> As of rubeis the charbunckle bene chose!
> And, as Phebus dois Cynthia precell,
> So Gawane Dowglas, Byschope of Dunkell."(1)

Not only did he use the fashionable ornate vocabulary full of words of Latin and French flavour, but he employed the ornaments of rhetoric, alliteration, enumeration, antithesis, the repetition of the same word at the beginning of each line,(2) question and answer within the line,(3) and the complicated patterns of internal rhymes beloved by the Rhétoriqueurs.(4) Douglas did not carry out these things to the ridiculous extent of the French writers. In spite

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(1) "The Testament of the Papyngo" S.T.S. ed. I, 55, lines 22-27.

(2) "The Palace of Honour" p.9. (3) ibid. p. 9.

(4) See Chapter VIII, p. 287.

of his admiration for them, he remained the pupil of Chaucer.

One more mediaeval allegory was to appear in Scots, long after the old fashion was out of date. This was "The Court of Venus" by John Rolland,[1] author of a version of "The Seven Sages."[2] It dates from 1575. Rolland followed English and Scots sources, "The Court of Love", "The Assembly of Foules", "The Flouer and the Leaf", "The Complaint of Pité," and "The Palice of Honour."[3] The poem has no pretensions to originality. It deals with an argument on love, in the débat style, between Desperance and Esperance, in which Esperance is so moved that, according to the habit of the conventional lover, he faints away. Venus and her ladies decide that Desperance must be brought to trial. He seeks help from the "seuin digne Doctouris in all Art", the Nine Muses, the Nine Worthies, the ten Sibyls and the Three Fates. At last Vesta undertakes his defence, and the third and fourth books describe the trial.

The trial scene is closely modelled on Scots law. Trials of this kind were a feature of fifteenth century

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(1) "Ane Treatise Callit "The Court of Venus" deuided into four buikis newlie compylit be Johne Rolland in Dalkeith, 1575" ed. W.Gregor, S.T.S. 1884.

(2) See Chapter I, p 69.

(3) Introduction to S.T.S.ed. pp XV, XVI, and XX.

French literature; the fashion probably came from the literary courts of love. The proceedure of the law courts was often imitated with realistic detail. There is a whole collection of such pieces by Martial d'Auvergne, "Les Arrêts d'Amour";(1) Coquillart has "Le Playdoyer entre la Simple et la Rusée", and "L'Enqueste d'entre la Simple et la Rusée", and "Les Droitz nouveaulx,"(2) The law court form is in fact quite common; it appears, as we have seen, in Douglas.(3) It was an arid, unpoetic style, and Rolland's mock trial fitly concludes the tradition.

With Rolland we have practically reached the end of literary mediaevalism, for Montgomerie's allegory, "The Cherry and the Slae"(4), in spite of its setting and its personifications, is written in a different style, and belongs, partly at least, to a new age. The Renaissance had at last reached even to Scotland.

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(1) Published at Amsterdam and Paris, 1731.

(2) ed. by C.d'Héricault, Paris, 1857.

(3) in his reply to Venus, "The Palice of Honour" p.27. See W.A.Neilson:"The Court of Love" passim.

(4) Ed. J.Cranstoun S.T.S. 1887, pl. Also in the supplementary volume, ed. G.Stevenson, S.T.S. 1910.

C H A P T E R VI.

LINDSAY

The life of Sir David Lindsay of the Mount (1490-c.1555) covers the end of the Scottish Middle Ages. It was a time not of expansion and culture, as was the reign of James IV, but of political stress and change. During most of his life Lindsay was in close touch with the Court, and his poems clearly reflect the spirit of his age.[1]

Nothing is known of Lindsay's early life.[2] A "Da. Lindesay", most probably the poet, is entered in the register of students at St Andrews in 1508 or 1509. By 1511 Lindsay had been appointed to some office in the royal household, and at the birth of the prince, afterwards James V, he was made his chief page or usher. The well known passage in "The Dreme"[3] describes his office, a combination of minstrel, court jester and royal nursery-maid. In 1522 Lindsay married. In 1524 a change of government robbed him of his office at Court, and turned his attention to writing. Five years later

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(1) Ed, by David Laing, Edinburgh, 1879, and by Douglas Hamer for the S.T.S., Ed. and London, 1929-1930? The introduction and notes to this ed. have not yet appeared.

(2) See the account of Lindsay's life in Laing's ed. I, p.VII.

(3) "The Dreme" ll 8-49. Laing I, 1-3; S.T.S. ed. I, p 4.

the young king James V recalled his old servant and appointed him to the important post of Lyon King-at-Arms. Thereafter Lindsay was in close touch with public affairs. He went on embassies to Flanders, France and Denmark, and it was his business to arrange all official celebrations and pageantry. Yet he was always a reformer rather than an entertainer. He was a satirist for the practical purpose of reforming abuses, not, like Dunbar, principally because satire and parody appealed to him as a literary form. He lived at a time when the French Alliance was strong and important, and we can see from his poems that, while he paid the usual tribute to Chaucer, Gower and Lydgate,(1) and also to the Scottish poets, he found his materials in contemporary France.

"The Satyre of the Thrie Estaitis",(2) Lindsay's most important, if not his most attractive work, is the only complete play in Middle Scots which has been preserved. It was first played at Linlithgow in 1540, and later at Cupar, Fife, and in Edinburgh. (1542 and 1544). "This remarkable piece" says Chambers,(3) "differs in many ways

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(1) "The Testament of the Papyngo" ll.10-49. S.T.S. I, 56-57

(2) in S.T.S. ed. vol. II. Laing's ed. vol. II.

(3) E.K.Chambers: "The Mediaeval Stage" II, 157. (Oxford 1903)

from the English moralities. The theme consists of the arraignment of the estates of the realm before Rex Humanitas. Various "vycis" and allegorical personages appear and plead, and the action is enlivened by farcical interludes for the amusemaent and entertainment of the vulgar, and wound up by a sermon of "Folie" which points rather to French than to English models." Recent research has endorsed this view and made it clear not only that Lindsay's play is partly copied from French work but that several types of French dramatic entertainment were copied in Scotland.

In minstrelsy and pageantry, as in formal court poetry, France was the"glass of fashion". French minstrels were popular at the Scottish Court (1) and royal grants were made to enable native minstrels to learn their art abroad. (2) French and Flemish players were brought to Scotland for the entertainment of the court circle. (3) Scottish music and musical instruments were greatly influenced by France (4)

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(1) A.J.Mill: "Mediaeval Plays in Scotland" (St Andrew's Publications no. XXIV, Edinburgh, 1927) Chap. II, and app. III, B.

(2) ibid. p.38.

(3) ibid. pp.37-38, and J.A.Lester: "Some Franco-Scottish Influences on the Early English Drama" in "Haverford Essays: Studies in Modern Literature, Prepared by Some Former Pupils of Prof. F.G.Gummere" Haverford, Pa. 1909 pp 132-133.

(4) Francisque-Michel "A Critical Inquiry into the Scottish Language" Ed.and London, 1882, chap. XIV; "The Complaynt of Scotlande" ed.J.Leyden, Ed. 1801, pp 140-141. Murray's ed. pp. 65 and XCI-XCVI.

and the same is true of dancing, whether alone[1] or as a part of royal pageantry.[2] Knox, in his "History of the Reformation" complains that "in ferses,[3] in masking and in other prodigalities, faine wold fooles have counter-footed France,"[4] but this practice was begun long before Knox's time, as is shown by the long list of shows and pageants after the French manner which culminates in the reign of Mary.[5]

The records of these masques and pageants is very incomplete[6] and there must have been many more now forgotten. No doubt there were likewise other plays and moralities which have not had the good fortune of Lindsay's work in being preserved.[7] Dr Mills inclines to think that Scotland had her own dramatic tradition, which came, like the minstrels and the musical instruments and dancing, directly from France.

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(1) Francisque-Michel, op. cit. chap. XV; "Complaynt of Scotland" Leyden's ed. p 130. Murray's ed. pp.66, LXXXVIIff.

(2) Lester, op. cit. p.144; Mill: "Mediaeval Plays" chap. III.

(3) The word "farce" was hardly known in England at this time; its meaning differed in Scotland and in France. See Mill op. cit. p.76; Lester op. cit. p 136, note 22.

(4) Quoted by Lester, p.146. (5) Lester, pp.146-149; Mill, Chap. III

(6) Mill, chap. VI, pp.96 ff. (7) Mill, p.101.

The English moralities had, of course, some influence[1] but in Lindsay's work the French models are as important. Lindsay had had ample opportunity of studying French dramatic entertainments in their own country.[2]

The most important person in French theatrical circles about this time was Pierre Gringore,[3] —a figure made very much alive for us by the vivid, though quite unauthentic, adventures which Victor Hugo has given him.[4] Unfortunately, Gringore was just the reverse of what the great romancer made out. He was, says Guy, "un être sans essor ni jeunesse, le bourgeois le mieux éteint et le plus rassis, un Joseph Prudhomme cuirassé de proverbes, un fonctionnaire qui reflète l'opinion de ses chefs, un modele de circon-

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(1) A.J.Mill: "The Influence of the Continental Drama on Lyndsay's "Satyre of the Thrie Estaitis", "Mod. Lang. Review" vol.XXV, p.425, Cambridge, 1930.

(2) "In 1531 Lyndsay was in Flanders for three months (Brussels, Antwerp). In 1534 he spent a similar period in Paris. In 1535 he probably accompanied the August embassy, which, apparently, did not completely break up until after the marriage of the Scottish king in January 1537 (Dijon, Lyons, Paris);;or, though not enumerated in the list in the Diurnal of Remarkable Occurents, he may have been included in the personal retinue of the King of Scots who landed in France in September 1536.At all events, he spent at least the autumn of 1536 and the first three weeks of 1537 in France, and probably over two months of that time in Paris." Mill: "Influence of the Continental Drama" etc. p.429.

(3) ed. C. d'Héricault and A.de Montaiglon, Paris 1878.

(4) in "Notre Dame de Paris" chapter II, and throughout the story.

spection, un débitant de derées poétique rivé à son comptoir."[1] Yet Gringore was a very competent if uninspired workman, and held the curious office of "Mère Sotte", the leader of the famous company or guild of "fools", the "Enfans-sans-Souci."[2]

Gringore, born about 1475, belongs in spirit to the reign of Louis XI. "Il était né de la politique de Louis XI."[3] He is a satirist, both in his dramatic and non-dramatic work, though, like Lindsay, he can also be heavily serious. His motto, a strange one it might seem for the Mère Sotte, was "Raison Par Tout, Par Tout Raison, Tout Par Raison,"[4] but the jester's guise was only assumed in order to make the moralist bearable, and to win for the reformer the liberty of the licensed fool. From 1506 to 1512, Gringore's fame was at its height:

"Il n'est plus seulement le metteur en scène des mystères, il est le poète applaudi par la foule, il est le polémiste,

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(1) H.Guy:"Histoire de la Poésie au XVIième siècle" I, p.279. (Paris, 1910.) Other authorities on Gringore are: C.Oulmont: "Pierre Gringore" Paris 1911, C.Lenient:"La Satire en France au Moyen Age", chap. XXII Paris 1912, and Petit de Julleville: "La Comédie et les Moeurs en France au Moyen Age" Paris 1886.

(2) see E.K.Chambers: "The Mediaeval Stage" vol.I, chap.XVI, on the guilds of fools.

(3) introduction to Gringore's works, p XVII. He left Paris in 1518, before Lindsay's visit.

(4) C.Oulmont, op. cit. p.27.

porte-parole du Roi, il joue son role dans le jeu du monde, combat avec la plume, devient par son influence momentanée un personnage politique, en un mot, il est Mère Sotte."[1]

Much of this would apply to Lindsay in Scotland some years later.[2] Both poets were alike in their love for satire for practical purposes; in their use of dramatic form to embody political themes,[3] in their love of sermonising, in their lack of lyrical gifts. Lindsay, who went to Paris when Gringore's fame was still fresh, could hardly have failed to take him for his model.

Gringore's chief dramatic work, and the one which contains the most daring satire, is his "Jeu du Prince des Sotz,"[4] comprising Cry, Sotie, Moralite and Farce, which was acted in Paris on Shrove Tuesday, 1511.[5] The piece, like Lindsay's is a vigourous satire on both church and state;

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(1) C.Oulmont: "Pierre Gringore" p.8.

(2) Lester, op. cit. p.139, compares Gringore's relations with Louis XII to Lindsay's with James V.

(3) Gringore was the first to apply the mediaeval morality to political themes,—a practice unknown in England until after the production of lindsay's play, which probably served as a model for the English political moralities such as "King John", "Lusty Juventus", and "Respublica" See Lester, op. cit. p.137.

(4) Gringore, ed. C.d'Héricault and A.de Montaiglon, I,197,ff.

(5) C.Oulmont, op. cit. pp.39 ff.

"Louis XII, the "prince des Sotz", is to hold his court and mete out justice to all comers. Many characters arrive, representing the multitudinous vices and follies of mankind, Ignorance, La Paillardise (cf.Lindsay's Sensuality), La Seigneur Joye (cf.Lindsay's Wantonness), La Manque de zèle Apostolique. Then enters La Commune, representing the people, and lodges complaints against the oppression of the seigneurs and the clergy. Last of all comes in the Mère Sotte, clad in the robes of Papacy supported by her adherents. She preaches to the Seigneurs and the Clergy, advocating treason and rebellion against the king. A quarrel is provoked, and in the scuffle, below the garb of the Pope is found the face of the fool."(1)

Here we probably have Lindsay's model, showing clearly the main features of the second part of "The Satyre". The character of the "People" does not occur in any previous English morality, but is found both in this play by Gringore and in another of his pieces, the "Vie de Saint Loys".(2) Lindsay's "Divine Correction" appears in Gringore's "Jeu du

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(1) Lester, op. cit. pp.139-140.

(2) Gringore, ed. C.d'Héricault et A.de Montaiglon, II,1 ff.

Prince des Sotz" as "Pugnacion Divine", and his "Good Counsel" may be taken from the "Vie de Saint Loys."(1) Other characters come from a variety of sources, the English moralities and the tradition of the "Roman de la Rose."(2)

The general idea of the Three Estates was a commonplace, and Lindsay might even have found it already used in Scottish literature in "The Thre Prestis of Peblis."(3) It is, however, a predominantly French conception, and Gringore the dramatist seems the most probable source. Gringore no doubt took it from Alain Chartier's "Quadrilogue Invectif", the literary source of "The Complaynt of Scotlande."(4)

The actual form of the main part of Lindsay's work shows French influence. A "cry" or "banns" forming a prologue to the piece is a common feature both in English and French. Our one other example of Middle Scots play writing "The Droichis Part of the Play"(5) is a specimen of it. Lindsay is unique in making his "cry" a piece of dramatic action

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(1) Lester, op. cit. p.140-141.

(2) Mill: "Influence of the Continental Drama" etc. pp.438-442.

(3) see chap. IV, p.159, Mill, op. cit. p.437.

(4) see Chap. VII.

(5) see Mill, op. cit. p431. Published in the S.T.S. ed. of Dunbar, vol.II, pp.314 ff.

like the interludes which are to follow, and he has given it a type of plot reminiscent of French farce.(1)

The form of the main part of the play, a "morality-farce-sottie", is not found in England, but is a French type, exemplified chiefly by Gringore.(2) In Lindsay's play Part I may be considered as a morality, and Part II as a sottie, with Folly's preaching to represent the popular "sermon joyeux." These burlesque sermons are not found in English literature; they belong to the parodies of religious services which all flourished most freely in France.(3) Folly's text: "Stultorum numerus infinitus", was the motto of the Enfans-sans-Souci in Paris, and, in the form:"Numerus stultorum infinitus est", it supplied the motto of the corresponding fraternity at Dijon.(4) The distribution of fools' hats by Folly is another link between Lindsay's play and the customs of the French "Sociétés Joyeuses."(5)

Lindsay's farcical scene of the hanging of Common Thift, Dissait and Falset(6) can, we think, be traced to another

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(1) Dr Mill learnedly discusses its probable sources, op. cit. pp 432-434, and finds the most probable to be "Le Bon Payeur et le Sergent" and, for the character of the "Miles Gloriosus" the "Franc-Archer de Bagnolet."

(2) Mill: "The Influence of the Continental Drama"etc.p.434

(3) E.K.Chambers:"The Mediaeval Stage" I, 381.

(4) Mill, op. cit. p.436. (5) ibid. p.435.

(6) "Satyre of the Threi Estaitis" ll 3981-4282; Laing's ed. II, 194-205; S.T.S.ed. II, 356 ff.

French play. A very similar scene occurs in the "Mystère de Saint Martin" by André de la Vigne, which was played at Seurre in Burgundy in 1496.(1) We have already had occasion to speak of another of de la Vigne's works.(2)

The Mystery of Saint Martin is a very lengthy affair, and its author found, like Lindsay, that his audience required to be cheered on their way by an interlude. With this laudable end in view, he began the second day of his performance with a farcical scene. Saint Martin had been attacked by brigands; they were arrested and condemned to be hanged immediately. The names of the French brigands are Soul d'ouvrer (soul de travailler), Toulifaut (tout lui faut), Courte-Oreille and Sote-troigne. Their characters are obviously meant to be the same as Lindsay's rascally abstractions. Like these, they complain bitterly of their fate, but in a more moralising tone; they do not boast of their crimes.(3) Two are hanged, and another is beheaded. The idea of making a merry and pleasing interlude out of a hanging scene is the same in both writers.

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(1) E.L. de Kerdaniel: "Un Rhétoriqueur, André de la Vigne" (Paris 1919). See also H. Guy, "Historie de la Poésie française au XVIième siècle, I, 207-13.

(2) See p. 197.

(3) Kerdaniel, op.cit. pp.41-44; I have not been able to see de la Vigne's work, but Kerdaniel's description is very full.

guide, is just the type of colourless, didactic abstraction dear to the hearts of the Grands Rhétoriqueurs, and the whole didactic and moralising tone of the poem is quite in their style.

When the poet and Dame Remembrance have explored the heavenly spheres, they return to earth, and Lindsay is given a lesson in geography.(1) It is not possible to say definitely from where he took his material, but the likeness between this passage of the "Dreme" and a geographical dissertation in "La Salade" by Antoin de la Sale is very striking.

Antoine de la Sale(2) (c.1388-c.1462) is an unusually interesting writer. He was a Provençal; was attached to the court of René of Anjou and became tutor to the king's eldest son. For this prince he wrote "La Salade"(3) (between 1437 and 1442), a compendium of the knowledge necessary for his royal charge, in which he writes of the art of government; of the classical authors who should be read by his pupil; of geography, of the history of Sicily; of the genealogy of the House of Aragon, and of heraldry.(4) "La Salle" ~~is another~~

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(1) "The Deuisioun of the Eirth" in "The Dreme" ll 659 ff. S.T.S.ed. I, 24; Laing's ed. I, 25 ff.

(2) See J.Nève: "Antoine de la Sale, Sa Vie et ses Ouvrages" (Paris and Brussels, 1903) and J.W.Soderhjelm: "Notes sur Antoine de la Sale et ses Oeuvres" Helsingfors 1908, p.44.

(3) pub. Paris 1521; the geographical part is about fol. XL.

(4) Gaston Paris has an essay on part of the "Salade" in "Légendes du Moyen Age" (Paris, 1903) p 68.

is another instructive work, written for the sons of Louis of Luxemburg; but by far his most interesting book is not instructive, but is a novel of his own time, "Le Petit Jehan de Saintré"(1) a vivid and invaluable picture of the life of the fifteenth centuty. "Les Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles"(2) and "Les Quinze Joys de Marriage"(3) have been attributed to him, but on very doubtful grounds. De la Sale is the first French writer, as Soderhjelm points out,(4) to cultivate a realistic style, and he was able to combine this realism with a distinct gift for narrative(5) and a really good sense of character.

Lindsay makes no mention of Antoine, and declares his masters in geography to have been:

> "Plenius and worthy Tholomie,
> Quhilkis was exparte in to Cosmographie."(6)

but it was always customary to acknowledge one's debt to

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(1) ed. P.Champion and F.Desonay, Paris, 1926. It has been translated into English Irvine Gray as "Little John of Saintré", London, 1932.

(2) Ed. P.Champion, Paris, 1928.

(3) "The Fifteen Joys of Marriage" trans. with an introduction by G.R.Aldington, London 1926. Gaston Paris attributes both of these to de la Sale (op.cit.p.68) Nève gives him neither, and points out that their style and spirit are not like those of the authentic works. (op.cit. pp.7 and 78.)

(4) op. cit. p.5.

(5) for example his "Renconfort de Mme de Fresne" contains a really fine piece of narrative writing. It is in Nève, pp.109-140.

(6) "The Dreme" ll. 748-749. S.T.S.vol. I, p.26.

the classics, and to borrow silently from authors nearer by. La Sale cites an entirely different list of classics, yet the plans of the divisions of the earth which the modern writers produce are almost the same, except for a few details and the forms of the names.(1) After running through the divisions and countries of the known world, they both conclude with a description of the Earthly Paradice, differing from each other only in details.(2) We cannot call Lindsay's work a translation from Antoine, but it is close enough strongly to suggest that he knew and imitated the French. The purpose of the French work, and the position of La Sale as tutor to a prince, would naturally appeal to Lindsay.

The last part of "The Dreme" is a "Complaynt of the Comoun weill of Scotland".(3) The country is personified, as it is in the "Thrie Estaitis", as a masculine figure representing the people, not, as in the "Quadrilogue Invectif" and "The Complaynt of Scotlande"(4) as a distressed lady. The figure is probably copied from Gringore's Peuple.(5)

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(1) La Sale's book contained a map, a very useful feature.

(2) Lindsay has a few extra details here, probably from a supplementary source. The MS from which Soderhjelm takes his summary differs slightly from the printed chapter Lindsay follows the printed version. The ed. of 1521 was fairly new when Lindsay went to France.

(3) "The Dreme" ll 918 ff. S.T.S.ed. I, 32.

(4) See p 254. (5) See p 257.

Antoine de la Sale's "Petit Jehan de Saintré" might have suggested to Lindsay the idea of portraying a real character, not a mere fabliau type; and to a certain extent he does this in his "Historie of Squyer William Meldrum,"(1) but the poem is almost entirely a burlesque of the old romantic manner. "The Testament of Squyer William Meldrum"(2) is, however, definitely modelled on a French fashion. It belongs to the traditions of courtly love poetry and of the parodies of religious services, for the lover dies and is buried not as a christian, but as one of Venus' martyrs. Meldrum's testament differs from the usual type in assigning to Mars and Mercury, as the gods of war and of rhetoric and eloquence, an importance equal to that of Venus. Perhaps this is due to differences in national character.

A.Campaux,(3) in his work on Villon, gives a long list of poetic testaments by Villon's forerunners and successors comprising a "Testament d'Alexandre" by Lambert li Tors, (12th century), the "Congiés" of Jean Bodel, Baude Fastoul

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(1) S.T.S. ed. I. 145. Laing's ed. I, 159.

(2) S.T.S. ed. I, 188; Laing's ed. I, 211.

(3) A.Campaux: "François Villon, sa vie et ses oevres" Paris, 1859, pp.17-35.

and Adam de la Halle (13th century); the Testament and Codicile of Jean de Meung, the "Testament de l'Ane" by Rutebeuf, an allegorical testament by Charles d'Orléans, the "Fortunes et Adversités de Jean Regnier, seigneur de Guerchy" and the "Testament de Jenin de Lesche." In English, Lydgate wrote a testament, which, however, is quite serious.(1) Most of the French poems change or parody the elaborate funeral rites which were such an important part of the serious testaments of the period. Much the most interesting example of this , and one which carries out as fully as possible the substitution of amorous for religious ceremonies, is a very serious love poem in the "Jardin de Plaisance": "Comment le chevalier oustre damours trespasse de dueil de sa dame."(2) Its editors attribute it to Pierre de Hauteville, "Prince d'Amours de la Cour amoureuse"(1376-1448) and date it before 1450. Parts of it were probably imitated by Villon.

A lover, mourning his lady, prepares to die. He calls a priest and, parodying the the "Ars moriendi" he confesses

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(1) In "Minor Poems of John Lydgate" ed. H.N.McCracken, E.E.T.S. 1911 (for 1910).

(2) ed. E.Droz and A.Piaget, Paris, 1925; vol.I, fol.CCXLVII; notes om the poem are given in vol.ii, p.305. See also A.Piaget: "La Belle Dame sans Merci et ses Imitations" VIII, in Romania, vol. XXXIV, p.424.(Paris, 1905).

all the sins he has committed against his mistress. He makes legacies to every type of lover, and decides on all the details of his funeral. Like Meldrum, he will have no priests but those of Venus, and his mourners are to be clad in green, the livery of lovers, and are to wear wreathes of periwinkles. The bier and the church are to be hung with red and green, and, like Meldrum,he describes with great care the fashion of his arms.

The question of colour is a very important point:

"Ceux qui pour moi feront le deuil
Auront leurs manteaulx de vermeil" (1)

and similarly Villon says his mourners are to be:

"Vestus rouge com vermillon." (2)

De Hauteville is very explicit in his instructions:

"Apres ceulx qui les dueilz meneront
Le iour de vert se vestiront
Et avecques chappeaulx a cornete
De beau velour noir que ilz mettront
Dustre veulx que ceulx qui porteront
Le corps soient vestus de brunette." (3)

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(1) "Jardin de Plaisance" fol. CCLIIII(pour CCLV)

(2) "Grand Testament" l 2ooo.

(3) "Jardin de Plaisance" fol. CCLIIII.

Meldrum says:

"Duill weidis I think hypocrisie and scorne,
With huidis heklit doun o^i^rthort thair ene.
With men of armes my bodie salbie borne;
Into that band see that no blak be seene.
My Luferay salbe reid, blew, and grene;
The reid for Mars, the grene for freshe Venus,
The blew for lufe of God Mercurius." (1)

The laurel, emblem of Mars, takes the place of the periwinkle, emblem of Venus, and, in the burial service, Mars seems the more important. In fact we might consider Meldrum's Testament as a parody of a parody; first of all in the French poems, the rites of Venus are substituted for the rites of the Church, and here Lindsay, mocking the old romantic love conventions, substitutes the worship of Mars and Mercury in part at least for that of Venus. The spirit too, is different. In the French poems the lover is as humble as the most fervent Christian, but Meldrum is quite the reverse. His martial deeds are to be proclaimed aloud, and he boasts of the ladies, in the plural too! who will mourn his death:

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(1) "Testament of Squyer Meldrum" ll.127-133; S.T.S. I, 192.

"Bot, maist of all, the fair Ladies of France,
Quhen thai heir tell, but dout, that I am deid,
Extreme dolour wil change thair countenance,
And, for my saik, will weir the murning weid....." (1)

This is an unheard of proceeding in an orthodox lover, and would have roused the indignation of the "Cour amoureuse". It is a burlesque of the courtly conventions of love poetry and of romance; the same tone is heard in other passages of the Squyer's history. (2) The days of the serious romance were over, and the old courtly love conventions, never really accepted in Scotland, were giving place to the more realistic ideas of the Renaissance.

Lindsay uses the form of the mock testament again in "The Testament of the King's Papyngo" (3) which is "a serious parody of the Office for the Dead and of the lover's testament. It is also a complaint and a débat. In short, Lindsay seems ambitious of including every species of mediaeval writing in this poem." (4) The idea of the "Epystylls" written by a dying bird who had been a court favourite,

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(1) "The Testament of Squyer Meldrum" ll.211-214. S.T.S. I,194

(2) See G.Kitchen: "A Survey of Burlesque and Parody in English" (Ed. and Lomdon, 1931) pp.29-30, and W.A.Neilsom: "The Origins and Sources of the Court of Love" (Boston, 1899) pp.224-225.

(3) S.T.S. ed I, 55.

(4) G.Kitchen, op. cit. p.28.

might have been suggested by a poem by Jean Lemaire de Belges (1473-to between 1514 and 1528) one of the later Rhétoriqueurs[1] and the greatest writer of his school. Lemaire entered the service of Marguerite d'Autriche, Duchess of Savoy, after having served the Houses of Burgundy and de Ligny, and for her he wrote in 1505 "Le Premier Epitre de L'Amant Vert."[2] In this graceful little poem he tells how Marguerite's pet paroquet was forgotten and left behind by its mistress, and how in an excess of love and despair it threw itself into the jaws of a murderous hound, and when dying, wrote to its royal lady. There are no resemblances in the details of the poems. Lemaire's is a gallant compliment in the courtly tradition; Lindsay's is an admonition to his young king and a satire against the greed of the priests and the abuses of confession. Some traces of the lover's testament are found in his poem, with no justification for their place there, since the Papyngo is not, like Lemaire's bird, represented as a lover. The Papyngo, weary of the hypocritical bird priests, says:

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(1) See H.Guy: "Histoire de la Poésie française au XVIième siècle" (Paris 1910) vol.I, p.176.

(2) Published by Paul Spaak in "Jean Lemaire de Belges, sa vie, son oeuvre, et ses meilleurs pages"(Paris, 1926) pp.206 ff.

"Bot, had I heir the nobyll Nichtingall,
The gentyll Ia, the Merle, and Turtur trew,
My Obsequees and feistis funerall
Ordour thay wald, with notis of the new.
The plesant Poun, most angellyke of hew,
Wald god I wer, this daye, with him confest,
And my deuyse dewlie be hym addrest". (1)

He wishes also for the "Maueis", the "goldspink" and the "Larke". Most of these birds are associated with Venus and with the parodies of religious services sung in her honour. (2)

Lindsay satirises the abuse of the confessional more openly and bitterly in "Kitteis Confession", (3) which we may compare with "La Confession de la Belle Fille", (4) an anonymous fifteenth century French piece. The parallel is

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(1) "The Testament of the Papyngo", ll.723-730. S.T.S.I,77.

(2) See W. A. Neilson, op. cit, pp.255 ff. In Jean de Condé's "Messe des Oiseaux" the nightingale takes the chief part. In "The Buke of the Howlat" the Peacock (Pown) is the birds' pope, and the dove is the curate who hears confessions. See "Scottish Alliterative Poems" ed. F.J.Amours, introd. pp.xxix-xxx. S.T.S. 1907. The Papyngo's legacies clearly belong to the mock testament style. We might also compare it with the "Testament de la Mulle Barbeau" by Henri Baude, c.1486. See H. Guy, op.cit. vol I, p.22.

(3) S.T.S. ed. I, 123.

(4) Published in "La Dance aux aveugles", etc., Lille, 1748, p.247. It is very similar to the lover's confession in the "Jardin de Plaisance" poem.

not at all close, for while the French, in honour of Venus, parodies the Confiteor, Lindsay's is a realistic satire against the greed and hypocrisy of the priests. Again, Lindsay is more interested in his subject and purpose than in literary form.

Lindsay's other poems call for no particular comment. His long and exceedingly tedious "Dialogue betwix Experience and ane Courteour"(1) is quite in the didactic vein of the Grands Rhétoriqueurs, but does not follow the intricacies of their style.

The Scottish poets, though they copied the Rhétoriqueurs to a certain extent, never adopted their practice of writing long, didactic allegories partly in prose and partly in verse.(2) Even Lindsay, the prosiest of our poets, writes entirely in verse, and does not attempt to follow the literary fashions of France at all closely. In his outlook in matters of art and in his lack of any real poetic inspiration, he is not at all unlike most of his French comtemporaries, though he does not share their obsession for intricate and meaningless ornament.

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(1) S.T.S. ed. I, 197.

(2) what Guy calls their "Grand Genre." op. cit. p.102.

C H A P T E R V I I.

SCOTTISH PROSE - "THE COMPLAYNT OF SCOTLANDE"

Prose, as we have seen, developed in Scotland very much later than verse, and was influenced even more by the writers of France. The two earliest prose writers, of whose lives we know something, were both educated partly in Paris, and spent many years in France, while the unknown author of "The Complaynt of Scotlande" was an ardent supporter of the House of Guise and of the French Alliance, and probably wrote his book abroad.(1)

Scottish prose begins by translating French. French prose, in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, was more fully developed than English, and was the natural model for Scottish prose writers, scholars rather than poets. France was the cultural centre of Europe,(2) and had a greater influence than(3)

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(1) It was first printed and published in Paris, 1549.

(2) "Frankreich war damals" — already in the eleventh century — "und wurde immer mehr das Centralland wissenschaftlicher Cultur in Europa," B.ten Brink: "Geschichte der Englischen Litteratur" (Strasburg, 1877) I, 159.

(3) see Francisque-Michel: "A Critical Inquiry into the Scottish Language" (Ed. and London, 1882), the introduction, and Chapter VIII on education. Also "Les Ecossais en France: les Français en Ecosse" (London, 1862 passim. See also T.F.Henderson: "Scottish Vernacular Literature" (London, 1898) p.7.

England on Scottish education. The well-known saying: "Tout le monde a deux pays, le sien, et puis la France", was true for the Scot of those days, who, whether scholar or soldier, turned naturally to the old ally. In spite of the great differences between the two peoples, and the lack of sympathy which a too close contact sometimes revealed, the "Auld Alliance" was as strong culturally as it was politically, until at the Reformation, the old order was changed and Scotland adopted the English translation of the Bible.

The Scottish literary prose of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries is awkward and mannered. It would have been easier for scholars to have used Latin or even French. The vernacular seemed inadequate, and they were obliged to eke it out with additional words borrowed from Latin. The French Rhétoriquers, who made considerable use of prose, were doing the same thing, and their example influenced the Scottish writers to a considerable extent.

Sir Gilbert Hay,[1] or of the Haye, the author of "The Buik of King Alexander the Conquerour"[2] a shortened poetic version of the French "Roman d'Alixandre", was a prose writer as well as a poet. He probably received part of his

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(1) See "Gilbert of the Haye's Prose MS" ed. J.H.Stevenson, S.T.S. 1901. The introduction tells what is known of his life.

(2) See pp 66-68.

education in Paris. He went to France about 1440 or 1442 and remained there for twenty-four years. Like so many Scots abroad he advanced to a high position in the foreign service, and became Chamberlain to Charles VII. After his return to Scotland, he entered the service of William, Earl of Orkney, one of the most cultured of the Scottish nobility, and at Roslin he wrote for his patron the books which are our earliest extant literary prose.

All Hay's works are translations from French, and are full of French words and phrases, often taken directly from his original. The "Buik of the Law of Armys"or, as it is also called, "The Buke of Batailles", is a translation from an unidentified MS of Honoré Bonet's fourteenth century work, the "Arbre de Batailles." It is discursive and technical, and would no doubt be of great interest to the knightly patron for whom Hay wrote. His second work is on a similar subject. The "Buke of Knychthede" is a translation of another fourteenth century work by an unknown author, the "Livre de Chevalerie." This book, with its high chivalrous ideals and its mystical interpretations of knightly weapons, must have been beginning to go out of date, at least for practical purposes. It is interesting to notice how Hay chose these works of a century or more before his own time. His third book is from a French version of a Latin work, "Liber de Regimine Principum",— "The Buke of the Governaunce of Princes." The original was attributed to Aristotle. In

all these works Hay made no attempt at originality. He is more original in his version of the Alexander romance, and he is certainly original in using the vernacular at all.

John of Ireland (1) like Hay, spent a large part of his life in France. He was born about 1435, went to Paris, probably after studying at St Andrews, in 1458; he became a doctor of theology, a professor at the Sorbonne, and a councillor to Louis XI. After Louis' death (1483) he returned to Scotland and was an intimate councillor to James III. In James IV's time his influence waned and he died about 1500. Ireland's works are nearly all lost; his sources were not French but Latin, though his style was naturally influenced by French. Like most of the prose writers he found the vernacular an awkward instrument and apologises for its use. He had been "thretty yere nurist in France, and in the noble study of Paris in Latin tounge and knew nocht the gret eloquens of Chauceir, na colouris that men uses in this Inglis metir that gret clerkis makis na counte of." (2)

The lives of many other Scottish scholars might be compared with those of Hay and Ireland, and it is more than

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(1) See C.Macpherson: "John Irlande's "Meroure of Wyssdme" S.T.S. 1926; and J.H.Stevenson on Ireland in "The Scottish Antiquary", July, 1900, and his introduction to Hay (op. cit.) pp LVI-LVIII.

(2) Introduction to Hay, p LVI.

likely that the anonymous author of"The Complaynt of Scotlande" belonged to the Scottish nation of the Sorbonne, and held some post in France as they had done.

"The Complaynt of Scotlande"[1] (1549) is our most interesting piece of Middle Scottish prose.[2] It is not, like Hay's works, a straightforward translation from French, but, while dealing with contemporary Scottish politics, it is built on the plan of a French work and includes long passages of translation, arranged and modified to suit the author's own purpose. The chief model is Alain Chartier's "Quadrilogue Invectif"[3] written more than a century before, but the Scottish author has also borrowed from a more recent French Rhétoriqueur, Octavien de Saint Gelais,[4] on whom he no doubt models his ornate and affected style. In order to imitate with more freedom the Rhétoriqueurs whom he admired so much, the Scottish writer has added to his work a

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(1) "The Complaynt of Scotlande vyth ane Exhortatione to the Thre Estaits to be vigilante in the Deffens of their Public veil" ed. J.A.H.Murray, E.E.T.S. 1872, extra series, 17-18. Also ed. by J.Leyden, Ed. 1801.

(2) T.F.Henderson gives a short account of it in "Scottish Vernacular Literature" (London 1898) pp 311 ff.

(3) Ed. E.Droz in Classiques français es du Moyen Age, Paris, 1923. See W.A.Neilson: "The original of the Complaynt of Scotland", "Journal of Germanic Philology" I, 411, Bloomington, Indiana, U.S.A. 1897.

(4) See W.A.Craigie: "The Complaynt of Scotlande" in "The Modern Quarterly of Language and Literature" I, 267, London, 1898-99.

long digression, the "Monologue Recreative", in which he explores the possibilities of French literary fashions.

Alain Chartier (1385?-1429)[1], without whose work the "Complaynt" would never have been written in its present form, was a most important figure not only in the literature but in the life of his time. He was educated in the Norman nation of the University of Paris and was a grave and serious student,[2] deeply impressed by the stern patriotism of the Latin writers whom he studied. At the same time he was very much in sympathy with the poetry of idealised courtly love, and these two strains, both so clear and strong, give great interest to his writings, and make them wonderfully expressive of his age and country.[3] His first poem, the "Lai de Plaisance" is in the courtly style, and in the "Livre des Quatre Dames" (1416) he builds a courtly love poem round the great national disaster of Agincourt. To us, who knew the same question "Weel, wounded, missin', deid?" the talk of Alain's bereft ladies seems stiff and artificial, but to think this

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(1) For an account of Chartier, see P.Champion: "Histoire Poétique du XVième siècle"(Paris, 1923) I, 1-165.

(2) ibid. p 7.

(3) His complete works are published by A.Duchesne, Paris, 1617. "Le Quadrilogue" is more easily read in Droz' ed. (op. cit.)

is to misjudge a poet whose natural idiom is the courtly style, and one of whose chief qualities is sincerity.

Alain's best poem, and one which attained an immense popularity, exercised a very great influence on later poetry, and was translated into English, is "La Belle Dame sans merci."[1] (1424) To us the name is magical, but another poet than Alain has made it so. The original poem has a charm of its own, like a fifteenth century MS, illustrated with its stiffly posed and quaintly dressed figures, set against a conventional background of formal garden or pinnacled castle. It is a lengthy discussion of the ideal of courtly love, showing in its own way quite a deep insight into the affairs of the heart. Chartier wrote many other poems, and several more have been wrongly attributed to him, but poetry was only a part of his work.

Like most of the poets of his age, Alain was an important public official. He rode up and down the country, how well the word "chevauchaît" expresses it, following the fortunes of the unhappy House of France in the disastrous period towards the end of the Hundred Years' War. He was

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(1) See A.Piaget in Romania XXX, p.22 and 317,(1901); XXXI, p. 315 (1902); XXXIII, 179 (1904); XXXIV, 375 and 561 (1905) The English translation is by Sir Richard Ros, 15th cent. and is ed. by F.J.Furnivall, E.E.T.S. no. 15, 1866.

"secrétaire du roi" and official orator. It is interesting to remember that in 1428 he was sent on a mission to Scotland and pronounced a long discourse in Latin before James I at Perth.(1) It was the year before the coming of the Maid, and France was in desperate straits. Scotland had already helped her well. Alain's mission was to obtain fresh assistance, to renew the Alliance, and to ask for the hand of the Scottish Princess Margaret for the Dauphin, later to be Louis XI.(2) The embassy was successful.

Among Chartier's many orations and political works, the chief is the "Quadrilogue Invectif." Written in 1422, it belongs to an earlier but no less desperate time than his mission to Scotland. The mad Charles VI was a helpless king; the country since the assassination of the Duke of Orleans (1407) had been torn by civil war between the

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(1) Champion, op. cit. pp 121-131.

(2) ibid. pp 124 and 131. Champion has told the brief, tragic story of the Dauphine in "La Dauphine mélancolique" (Paris, 1927.) The gracious, but unhistorical story told of her by Jean Bouchet is well known:...."ung jour, ainsi qu'elle passoit par une salle, ou ledit Maistre Alain se estoit endormy sur ung banc,comme il dormoit, le fut baiser devant toute la compaignie: dont celuy qui la menoit fut envieux et luy dist: Madam je suis esbahy comment avez baisé cest homme qui est si laid. Car à la vérité il n'avoit pas beau visage. Et ell fist réponse: Je n'ay pas baisé l'homme, mais la precieuse bouche de laquelle sont yssuz et sortis tant de bons mots et de vertueuses parolles." P.Champion, "Histoire Poétique" I, 131-132, note 4.

Armagnacs and the Burgundians; the English had, by the battle of Agincourt and the Treaty of Troyes (1419) become masters of the country and were allied with the Burgundian party. Henry V held Paris and the crown, and the Dauphin was a helpless fugitive in Bourges.

In these circumstances it is no wonder that a man like Chartier, devoted heart and soul to the service of the Dauphin, and to the cause of national unity, should have written a patriotic appeal to his countrymen of which his biographer can say:

"De tous les ouvrages d'Alain Chartier, il n'en est pas de plus sincère; il n'en est pas de plus digne d'admiration où il y ait aussi plus de poésie que dans ce chef-d'oeuvre de la prose éloquente française qu'est le Quadrilogue."(1)

"Chartier sut communiquer à la prose française" says his editor,"une ampleur que tout le XVième siècle admira, sans parvenir a l'imiter, et qui valut a son auteur le titre de père de l'éloquence."(2)

Scottish prose, more than a hundred years later, was quite unable to equal the ease of Chartier's style.

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(1) P.Champion: "Histoire Poétique" I, 32. See also his introduction to the 1923 ed. of the"Quadrilogue", ppIII-VI.

(2) E.Droz, ed. of the "Quadrilogue" 1923, p VI.

As a frame for his appeal to patriotism and for his denunciation of the bad government, selfishness and ignorance which were ruining his country, Chartier uses the familiar, and in fact inevitable, device of allegorical personification. His book is a dialogue between France and her Three Estates, the People, the Nobility, and the Church. (1)

This was the simple and appropriate framework which our unknown Scottish author borrowed, when in 1549, he made an appeal to his compatriots to unite and defend their country in a situation as wretched as that of France in 1422. The "Auld Enemy" was the same, and many of the circumstances were very similar. Scotland was without a king, as France had been, for James V had died of grief and shame, it is said, after Solway Moss. The Scots had been defeated at Pinkie, and three times the English in their "bitter wooing" of the young Queen Mary, whom Henry VIII wished to capture as a daughter -in-law, had laid waste the south of the country with fire and sword, unpardonably destroying the Border abbeys. And while the lovely towers of Dryburgh, Melrose and Jedburgh were smoking in ruins, a new political party was gaining strength in Scotland, friends to the Reformed

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(1) The "complaint" form which he used, was an old and widely popular literary genre. It had been developed as a special type of lyric, the lover's complaint, in Provençal. It may possibly derive from Ovid's "Heroïdes", that is, in its longer, more elaborate forms.

Church, and to the English who supported it, enemies of the Guises and the "Auld Alliance." The country was in a state of utter confusion. The attempted friendship with England had failed, and Scotland turned in desperation to her old ally, France. The Queen was sent across the sea to safety, and French auxiliaries arrived in Scotland. With this help a defence was maintained and an honourable peace was concluded in 1550. Just then, and a little late for the occasion which had called it forth, the "Complaynt of Scotlande" was printed.(1)

A detailed comparison of the French and Scottish works has already been made by W.A.Neilson,(2) but as his essay is not easily accessible, and as he does not mention a few points which seem to us of literary interest, it will not, I hope, be out of place to make our own survey.(3)

Chartier begins with one sonorous introductory paragraph. The Scottish author, who with less command of his prose, is much more self-conscious about it, takes a longer time to get under way. First he has an introduction "To the Excellent and illvstir Marie Quene of Scotlande, the margareit and perle of princessis." (p 1.) This is Mary of Guise, the

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(1) Introduction to "The Complaynt" ed. J.A.H.Murray, pp VII,ff

(2) op. cit. at the end of his essay.

(3) using Murray's ed. of "The Complaynt" and Droz's ed. of the "Quadrilogue".

Queen Regent, and the subject of the address is the ancient malign enmity of England and the nobility and prowess of the French. Next comes a "Prolog to the Redar" (p 8) characteristically full of learned classical quotations and defending the author's literary profession.

There follows the first chapter (p 19) which "declaris the cause of the Mutacions of Monarches." This is a fairly close translation of the beginning of the "Quadrilogue." (p1, §2) The Scottish author generally expands a little, and so loses the steady rhythm of Chartier's prose. He often explains the metaphors instead of allowing them to speak for themselves.(1) He supplements his original with scriptural and classical quotations, and makes much more parade of his learning. He continues his translation through Alain's fine "Ubi sunt" passage: "Ou est Ninive, la grant cité qui duroit trois journees de chemin?" — "quhar is the grite ande riche tryumphand cite of nynyue, quhilk hed thre dais iournais of circuit? at this tyme ther is nocht ane stane standand on ane vthir."(2) There is

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(1) as in the passage about the potter, Comp. p19, l 18; Quad. p. 2; l.21. The Scottish writer speaks of the potter's "masse of mettal." This is surely a mistake; Chartier has simply "masse." There are other little mistakes in the Complaynt, showing that the Scottish author did not clearly visualise his original.

(2) Quad. p 3; Comp. p 20.

no answer to the question in the French. The point of rhetorical question is to leave it unanswered, but the Scottish author did not often realise this. Chartier finishes his first section with a paragraph on the ravages of the English. The "Complaynt" points out at great length that the misfortunes of Scotland are a judgment of God.(1)

This theme is tediously enlarged throughout chapters II, III, IV and V, and there is a discussion of the approaching end of the world. With Chapter VI we come to "Ane Monologue the Actor" or "Monologue Recreative"(2), where the author takes leave of his subject in order to give us an exhibition of his rhetorical powers. This part was probably written after the rest of the book, when the worst of the national crisis was past,(3) and we shall return to it later.

The next part, "The Visione that aperit befor the Actor in his Sleipe"(4), is a fairly close translation from Chartier. In a dream, a lady (France: Scotland) appears before the writer; she is in sad disarray, her mantle is torn, and she shows every sign of distress. The Scottish author, following the later vogue for heraldic descriptions, adds her shield with the lion rampant.(5)

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(1) Quad. p.4; Comp. pp.22-23.

(2) Comp. p.37. (3) Introduction to the Complaynt, p.xvi.

(4) Quad. p.6; Comp.p.68.

(5) see page 121 and page 122.

The lady weeps and looks upon the barren fields,

"quhar sche persavit cummand touart hyr thre of hyr auen native natural sonnis. The eldest of them vas in harnes, traland ane halbert behynd hym, beand al affrayit ade fleyit for dreddour of his lyve. The second of hyr sonnis vas sittand in ane chair, beand clethd in ane sydegown, kepand grite gravite, heffand ane beuk in his hand, the glaspis var fast lokkyt vitht rouste. hyr ȝongest sone vas lyand plat on his syde on the cald eird, ande al his clathis var revyn ande raggit, makkand ane dolorus lamentatione, ande ane piteouse complaynt...."(1)

Here the Scottish author has made an odd confusion by first saying that the three sons were coming towards the lady, and then that one was sitting in a chair and one was lying on the ground. He could have had no clear mental picture. Chartier's imagery is perfectly clear::

"Et a celle heure apperceut trois de ses enfans, l'un estant droit en armes appuyé sur sa hache, effrayé et songeux, l'autre en vestement long sur ung siege de costé, escoutant et taisant, le tiers en vil habit, reversé sur

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(1) Comp. p 70, ll. 18-28.

la terre, plaintif et langoureux."(1)

It is very characteristic of the Scottish author to add the Clergy's rusty book. Throughout his work he is much more severe on the Church than is Chartier. In this he reminds us of Lindsay. He is typical of this period, when the Roman Church in Scotland was particularly corrupt.

The author of the"Complaynt"omits a passage in the "Quadrilogue" on how the lady was supporting a tottering palace.(2) it was probably too great a strain on his imagination, but in case his readers found the allegory difficult to follow, he adds a clear statement that the lady is Dame Scotia. The lady announces that she is about to reproach her sons for their ingratitude and cowardice; nor does she forget some suitable references to Cicero.(3)

Scotia's complaint follows.(4) Most of it is a free translation from the French. Chartier stresses the shameful luxuriousness of his countrymen; this is entirely omitted in the "Complaynt"; there was little opportunity for soft living in the Scotland of those days. The "Complaynt" dwells at great length upon the iniquities of the English, and there is a long warning against frater-

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(1) Quad. p.9; ll 5-10. (2) ibid. p.8.

(3) Comp. p.72; Quad. p.9. (4) Comp. p.106.

nisation on the Borders, treachery and avarice.[1]

We return to the French for the answer of the third son, the People.[2] this is at first a very close translation, then the Scottish author adds a further description of the terrible plight of the labouring classes, surely drawn from his own experience.[3] Here and there he still translates passages from the French, but he adds his own indictment of the treasonable nobles, whome he blames far more than the people. He is much more in sympathy with the people than is Chartier.

After this point the dialogues do not correspond. In the French, the Knight answers the complaint of the People, accusing them of sedition and of luxurious living.[4] They have brought misery upon themselves and are responsible for the war. The People reproaches the Knight for the Nobility's instability and extravagance.[5] The Knight speaks of the People's thieving.[6] The Clergy traces the troubles of the country to dissentions and lack of council. What France needs is "savance, chevance et obeissance."[7] The Knight answers that the Nobility lacks a leader,[8] and

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(1) Comp. p. 108.
(2) Comp. p 122; Quad. l 17.
(3) Comp. p. 123
(4) Quad. p. 22-23
(5) Quad. p. 33-36
(6) Quad. p. 36-39
(7) Quad. p. 39-55
(8) Quad p. 55-57

France sums up the discussion.[1]

Instead of this dialogue, Dame Scotia in the "Complaynt" simply reproves each of her sons in turn, and exhorts them to come to her help. Her reproof of the People[2] is a very free adaptation of Chartier's Knight's first speech. There is no mention of luxurious living, but the people are described as uncivilised, cruel and brutish. As for the Nobles, there is no gentleness amonst them, they are a complete contrast to those of the Golden Age. The description of the Golden Age[3] is no doubt taken from Latin, with which the Scottish author is perfectly familiar. He is more severe than Chartier in his denunciation of the Nobility. Both mention the excessive love of hunting, and the keeping of horses and dogs as some of the vices of the class.

Dame Scotia's reproof of the Clergy[4] is not a translation. Alain writes from the clerc's point of view, and describes the Clergy as helpless but ready to give good advice and to do what they can. The Scot, who presumably was not a churchman, denounces the Clergy as vicious good-for-nothings. They ought to use their wisdom to promote unity,- this is the French idea,- and they should fight in defence of their country.

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(1) Quad. p 57-58 (2) Comp. pp 137-143

(3) Comp. pp 144-145 (4) Comp. pp 157-165.

Dame Scotia's exhortation to her sons[1] is longer, more detailed, and, on the whole, more forceful than the corresponding passage in the "Quadrilogue". After it the "Complaynt" ends, but in the "Quadrilogue" there is an additional paragraph[2] in which France bids Chartier write down all he has heard.

It will be seen that the Scottish author makes an accusation against each of the Three Estates, while Chartier makes none against the Clergy. The former goes into more details and is more merciless. He accounts for most of the trouble as the outcome of absolute vice; in the French more is said of weakness and incompetence. In the Scots there is more about treachery, much less of cowardice, and practically nothing of luxury. The style of the Scottish author lacks the full, rhythmical flow of the French, and he is not quite so fond of rhetorical questions. He adds a great number of scriptural and classical references, often substituting his own examples for those given by Chartier. He makes more parade of his learning, and only about the middle of his work do we feel that the rhétoriqueur has given place to the patriot. In Chartier they are perfectly blended throughout. On the whole, the Scottish

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(1) Comp. pp 165-186; Quad. pp 57-58.

(2) Quad. pp 58-59

writer has made good use of his model, and his arrangement of the subject in the latter part is simpler and clearer, though it allows neither the Nobility nor the Clergy a chance to defend themselves. In purely literary ability however, he falls far short of his model.

The personifications out of which Chartier's allegory is built, became commonplaces of fifteenth century literature. André de la Vigne[1] in "La Ressource de la Chrestienté" which forms the prologue to the "Vergier d'Honneur" describes his distressed lady Dame Chrestienté very much as Alain describes his France. Michault, in "Le Doctrinal du Temps Présent"[2] encounters a lady "Vertu", "toute esgaree, dessainte et deschevelee fust ou poursuye d'aucuns ses ennemis."

The Three Estates are found personified everywhere, notably in Gringore, and other dramatic work, including Lindsay's.[3]

We must now turn to the other French models used by the author of the "Complaynt". Though the whole work is obviously written according to French literary fashions, the only other model of which we can be certain is Octavien de Saint

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(1) See H.Guy: "Histoire de la Poésie française au XVIième siècle" vol. I, p. 208. The "Vergier dhonneur" was published in Paris about 1520 under the name of Octavien de Saint Gelais. It was written in 1496.

(2) P.Michault: "L'Abusé en Cour: Le Doctrinal du temps présent" (1466) ed. E.Droz, Paris 1927. See C.P.Goujet: "Bibliothèque français" Paris 1745, IX, 345.

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(3) see chapter VI. p.227.

Gelais. W.A.Craigie has discovered that the"Epistle to the Qvenis Grace" plagiarises Octavien's preface to his translation of the Epistles or "Heroides" of Ovid. The clue which led to this discovery was the extraordinary word "gazophile", characteristic of the style of Octavien.(1) The "Complaynt" borrows quite a long paragraph.

In the "Monologue Recreative" we cannot trace the direct influence of any one model, but the elaborately wrought style betrays the dangerous example of Saint Gelais, and the author is clearly doing his best to follow the fashions of the Rhétoriqueurs. First he gives us the meadow by the river, with its flowers, birds and fish,(2) an indispensable part of allegorical poetry; perhaps Gavin Douglas is his chief example here. He then mentions the forest, another popular subject, and proceeds to the dawn. He speaks of Aurora in a style which strongly reminds one of paragraph of Saint Gelais as well as of Douglas:(3)

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(1) W.A.Craigie: "The Complaynt of Scotlande" in "The Modern Quarterly of Language and Literature" I, 267, London, 1898-1899.
"....i began to reuolue in the library of my vndirstanding, ande i socht all the secreit corneris of my gazophile" Comp. p 7, ll.3-5.
"après avoir tournoyé la petite libraire de mon entendement et visité les anglettz de mon gazophile" St. Gelais, quoted by Craigie, p 268. Octavien's translation of Ovid has not been printed.

(2) Comp. p.37.

(3) Prologue to the Aeneid, Book XII, Small's ed. IV, 80. (Ed. and London, 1874.)

"i persauit the messengeiris of the rede aurora, quhilkis throucht the mychtis of titan hed persit the crepusculyne lyne matutine of the northt northt est orizone...." (1)

Saint Gelais says: (we have already quoted the passage)

"Le lendemain sur la poincte du iour
Que la dame du matutin seiour
Dicte aurora p̃pare sa grãt salle
En region et part orientalle...." etc. (2)

There is much alliteration in the Scots; Lindsay too, uses it, and this is a device in which the French Rhétoriqueurs delighted.

The "Complaynt" gives us full measure of what Guy calls the principal resource of the Rhétoriqueurs, enumeration. (3) We have a long list of the birds of the countryside, (4) of the manoeuvres of the sailors on a ship, (5) of the tales told by the shepherds and of the songs they sang, of their musical instruments and dances, (6) and of wild flowers. (7) The catalogues are not entirely conventional

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(1) Comp. p 38.

(2) "Le Séjour d'honneur" Paris 1519; beginning of Book II, p 61; see p. 193.

(3) H.Guy, op. cit. p 69, § 103.

(4) Comp. p 39. (5) ibid. pp 40-42.

(6) ibid. pp 63-66 (7) ibid. p 67.

and show some real observation of the country-side. The list of stories and songs is very interesting from a literary point of view.[1] The tales are mostly romances and ballads, and at this late period we can conjecture that the courtly romance stories were often being retold in ballad form.

The description of the shepherds and their doings was a very popular, in fact an essential, subject in fifteenth century literature. These descriptions may sometimes owe a little to Vergil's Georgics and Eclogues, the author of the "Complaynt" had already described the Golden Age in the manner of the Latin writers,[2] but they owe more to the Old French pastourelle.

After the time of the Troubadours and Trouvères, their lyrical chansons d'aventures, the pastourelles, were adopted by later poets and gradually transformed into what we should now call pastoral poetry. The figure of the knight, essential to the old pastourelle, disappears, and the shepherds alone, with their games, songs and love-making remain.[3] "Les dits de Franc Gonthier" by Philippe de Vitry (1291-1361)[4] is probably the earliest of this type of pastoral.

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(1) See Introduction to Murray's ed. pp LXXIII-LXXV.

(2) Comp. pp.144-145; see supra p. 258. Assuming that the Monolugue was written last.

(3) Spenser has a knight among his shepherds (Faerie Queene, Book VI, canto IX) but his character is not that of the typical knight of the pastourelles.

(4) see L.Petit de Julleville: Histoire de la langue et de la littérature française" II, 343-344 (Paris, 1896-99)

It describes the happy country life of a woodcutter and his wife. In "Les contrediz de Franc Gontier"[1] Villon ridicules this ideal.[2] Adam de la Halle's "Jeu de Robin et Marion"[3] shows the change in progress from the old to the new type of pastoral. Here we still have the story of the knight wooing a shepherdess, but the shepherds themselves are the chief persons.

In Chistine de Pisan's "Le Dit de la Pastoure"[4] the knight again appears, but the poem is really a very charming picture of the life of the shepherds. It seems to have consisted almost entirely of songs, dances, picnics and love-making. Christine describes how:

La soulz le chaine ramage
S'assembloient pastourelles,
Et non mie tout par elles,
Aincois veissiez soir et main

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(1) Villon, ed. G.Atkinson (London, 1930) pp. 164-166. "Le Testament," lines 1473 ff.

(2) A.Campaux speaks of the "déluge de pièces pastorales dont la France était alors inondée." "François Villon, sa vie et ses oeuvres" (Paris 1859) p. 205.

(3) ed. E.Langlois, (Paris, 1924) Adam died about 1288.

(4) "Oeuvres de Christine de Pisan" ed. M.Roy, S.A.T.F. Paris, 1886. II,228-234. See Petit de Julleville, op. cit. II, 357-366. Christine died before 1440.

Son ami parmi la main
Venir chascune tenant,
Plus de vint en un tenant,
Dont l'un flajolant venoit
Et l'autre un tabour tenoit,
L'autre musete ou chievrete;
N'il n'y avoit si povrete
Qui ne fust riche d'ami....." (1)
"Ainsi les veissiez treschier
Et karoler et baler"..... (2)

Christine describes their meal of bread, cheese and fruit, and how they sang their rural songs, one of which she quotes. This is all very like what we find in "The Complaynt" though the Scottish author has given it some local colouring, and has added one old shepherd to teach the young folk his country wisdom.

René of Anjou, about the middle of the fifteenth century, wrote a charming pastoral "Regnault et Jehanneton." (3) Here there is no knightly wooer for, as in many a later poem,

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(1) Christine de Pisan vol. II, pp.227-228, ll.138-150; cf. Complaynt, p.66.

(2) Christine de Pisan, vol.II, p 278, ll.160-161

(3) "Oeuvres complètes du Roi René" ed. by M. le Comte de Quatrebarbes, Angers, 1845. Vol. II. See P.Champion: "Le Roi René, Ecrivain" Monaco, 1925, pp10-17.

the shepherd represents the poet himself and Jehanneton is the king's young wife Jeanne de Laval. The frame, even then, was conventional, but the poem is wonderfully natural and fresh.

Similarly, Jean Lemaire de Belges uses the pastoral form in his lament on the death of Pierre de Bourbon (1) to give a poetic disguise to famous names.

In the treatises on rhetoric, the "pastourelle" is recognised as a certain type of ballade, in an eleven-lined stanza. It is no longer a chanson d'aventure, but a poem dealing with some rustic subject. It was the specialty of the literary circle or "puy" at Bethune. Baudet Herenc, in his "Le Doctrinal de la Secomde Rhétorique" (1433) speaks of the "forme de taille de pastourelles, lesquelles se font a Bethune en Artoys, chascun an, le dimanche après la feste Dieu," (2) (in May). Deschamps says of them "les matères se diffèrent selon la volenté et sentiment du faisseur." (3) They are composed in the same form as "ballades amoureuses." (4) Froissart's pastourelles belong to this kind.

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(1) See Paul Spaak: "Jean Lemaire de Belges, sa vie, son oeuvre, et ses meilleurs pages" (Paris, 1926) pp 18-19. He lived from 1473-1514 or 1528. He is edited by J.Stecher, Louvain, 1882.
In his "Temple d'Honneur" Lemaire introduces some quite classical shepherds. He was stromgly influenced by the Renaissance and by the Latin classics. See C.P. Goujet: "Bibliothèque française" vol.X, p.71. Paris, 1745.

(2) in "Recueil d'Arts de Seconde Rhétorique" ed. E.Langlois (Paris, 1902) p.177. (3) ibid. note 1, pp 102-103.

(4) in C.Bartsch: "Altfranzösischen Romanzen und Pastourellen." Leipzig 1870.

The pastoral which is perhaps our Scottish author's most probable model, is the description of shepherds in Martial d'Auvergne's "Vigilles de la Mort du Roy Charles VII a neuf Pseaulmes et neuf leçons" (1461)[1] The whole poem is a serious adaptation of the church service, and its general plan bears some resemblance to our "Complaynt." France herself reads the first lesson, and recounts the glory of former times; now, she says:

"Lors chascun me haioit,
Noblesse me fuioit
Pour ma grand povreté;
Le Peuple si crioit,
Le Clergié se plaignoit....."[2]

Here again we have France and her Three Estates. The response is sung by the People; the second lesson is given by Noblesse, and so on through the different classes and occupations of the country. In the third lesson, sung by "Labour" there is a description of the happy life of the peasant in former times[3] quite like the references to the Golden Age in

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(1) "Les Poésies de Martial de Paris, dit d'Auvergne", printed by G.A.Urbain, Paris 1724, I, 61. See Petit de Julleville op. cit. II, 384-5. Martial died in 1508.

(2) ibid. p.61. (3) ibid. pp.83-88.

the "Complaynt."[1] There is the usual picture of life among the flowering meadows, where the birds sing and the peasants play their bag-pipes:

"Las! Dieu sçet quelle joye,
En l'air je saultoye,
En chançons chantoye,
Comme une allouette."[2]

We find the usual idealised picture of the peasants' homely fare, of their dances, of the young girls crowned with flowers. All this had become a literary tradition. In spite of the local colour in the "Complaynt", the author's sources for his rural pictures were certainly literary, and though he certainly knew the pastorals of Latin literature, he imitated chiefly the pastorals of fifteenth century France.[3] Throughout the "Complaynt" very little is original, yet this does not detract from the great interest of the book, both from an historical and from a literary point of view.

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(1) Comp. pp 144-145. (2) "Vigilles" p 85.

(3) Another example of the pastoral on a political subject is the "Pastoralet" described by O.Cartellieri in "The Court of Burgundy" (London, 1929) p. 166.

C H A P T E R V I I I.

SCOTTISH STANZAS.

To trace French influence on the forms of Scottish stanzas is not easy, for, although Scottish prosody is, to a large extent, ultimately based on French models, English is very often an intermediary. Mediaeval Latin is also an important source, and the alliterative Germanic tradition was sometimes followed. In fact, Scottish prosody is as great a mixture as the language itself.(1) All one can do is to observe which Scottish stanzas are more characteristic of France than of England, and to notice the direct influence of the French Rhétoriqueurs.

We have to distinguish between three different schools of French poetry, the twelfth and thirteenth century lyric of the Troubadours and Trouvères, the fourteenth century ballade and rondeau style, and the fifteenth century elaborations of the Grands Rhétoriqueurs.

The narrative writers had abundant English examples of the couplet, but Barbour and Wyntoun/

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(1) G. Gregory Smith admits very little French influence of any kind until the reign of James VI, but he is apt to overstate his case. See his "Scottish Literature, Character and Influence", (London 1919) chapter III, pp.71-99.

write their octosyllables in a stricter form than the southern English school;[1] they keep nearer to the French usage. The "Wallace" is scanned on the strict syllabic plan of French prosody, and includes some quite rhetorical ballade stanzas.[2] In the easy, flowing narrative verse of "The Freiris of Berwik" Chaucer is the model.

The simplest and fundamental type of Old French strophe is the "monorime". In French it could be of any length, but it does not occur often in Scots, and then only in a four lined form.[3]

These "laisses" might have a refrain added to them,[4] or refrain lines might break up the stanza. Our famous "Burns Metre" is a development of this.[5] It was first used in two poems by Guillaume, Duc d'Aquitaine (1071-1127), for example:

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(1) J. Schipper: "A History of English Versification" (Oxford, 1910) p 186.

(2) T. F. Henderson: "Scottish Vernacular Literature" (London, 1898) pp 65-66.

(3) eg. The Bannatyne MS, ed. W. Tod Ritchie, S.T.S. (1922-26) no. CCCXXII, and Maitland Quarto MS, ed. W.A.Craigie, S.T.S. (1920) no. LXXXI.

(4) giving a form such as aaaB.

(5) A.Jeanroy: "Les Origines de la Poésie Lyrique en France" (2nd ed. Paris 1904) p399, n. 2.. E.Guest in "English Rhythms" remarks upon the ultimate Provençal origin of the Burns stanza. (London, 1838, vol.II, p 354.)

"Farai un vers de dreyt nien:
Non er di mi ni d'autra gen,
Non er d'amor ni de joven,
Ni de ren au,
Qu'enans fo trobatz en durmen
Sobre chevau". (1)

It was used by Bernard de Ventadour, is found in northern France, and first appears in English in a fourteenth century love song. "Eminently aristocratic in its inception, it presently became a thythmus for the people, with which artists in prosody as Chaucer and Henryson in the end disdained to deal". (2) It appears in dramatic literature, in the York Plays and the Towneley Mysteries, and is first used in Scots by Lindsay in his "Satyre of the Thrie Estaitis". (3) A piece in the Bannatyne MS, "In somer quhen floris" (4) gives it in the exact form used by Burns, and there are several variants both with and without refrain. A very old French form has the short lines of only two syllables:

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(1) "Les Chansons de Guillaume IX, Duc d'Aquitaine", ed. A.Jeanroy (Paris, 1913) number IV, p.6.

(2) note to "The Centenary Burns", ed. W.E. Henley and T.F.Henderson (Ed. and London, 1896) vol I, pp.336-340. A very full account of the stanza is given.

(3) S.T.S. ed. vol II, p.68, etc.

(4) number CCVI. Also Alexander Scott's "Complaint aganis Cupeid", S.T.S. ed. p.83.

"Je ne li ai rienz mesfait
ne riens ne li ai mesdit
fors c'acolleir mon amin
soulette.
R. Por coi me bait mes maris
laisette?" (1)

This is exactly the same as a stanza used by Alexander Scott, where, however, the two short lines form a double refrain:

"It cumis ȝow luvaris to be laill,
Off body, hairt, and mynd alhaill,
And thoᵗ ȝe wᵗ ȝorʳ ladyis daill—
Ressoun;
Bot and ȝour faith and lawty faill—
tressoun." (2)

Montgomerie uses a similar stanza. (3) Maitland produces variants of it, and it appears in the "Gude and Godlie Ballatis". James Vl, in his work on rhetoric does not mention it, and at the time of the Reformation it had

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(1) A.Jearoy: "Origines" p 399.

(2) A.Scott, ed J.Cranstoun, S.T.S. (1906) p 63.

(3) in "Regrate of his Unhappie Luve", S.T.S. ed. J.Cranstoun (1887) p 217.

gone somewhat out of fashion.[1]

In French, this type of stanza, which came originally from the dance songs of the peasants,[2] gave rise to the "bob and wheel" strophes.[3] They are quite common in French, and were very popular in Middle English. There they were associated with the alliterative tradition,[4] and thence they were borrowed by Middle Scots.[5] It is not very likely that the Scottish poets looked for them in France.[6]

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(1) see "The Centenary Burns" loc. cit. Refrains in the middle as well as at the end of the stanza are often found in the French and Scottish ballads Examples in Scots are: "The Elfin Knight" (F.J.Child: "English and Scottish Popular Ballads", Boston and New York, 1882-98, I, 15, no. 2.), "Lady Isabel and the Elf Knight" (I, 55, no. 4), some of the forms of "Gil Brenton" (I, 77-79, no.5) etc. etc.

(2) A.Jeanroy: "Origines" pp 387-399, etc.

(3) See P.Paris: "Romancero français" (Paris, 1833), eg. "Bele Ysabel" p 70; "Bele Idoine" p 11; and G.Paris: "Chansons du XVième siècle" (Paris, 1875) nos XIV, and XV. There are also examples in Provençal, see J.Audiau: "Nouvelle Anthologie des Troubadours" (Paris, 1928) p 73, etc.

(4) as in "Sir Gawain and the Green Knight", etc.

(5) see J.Amour's "Scottish Alliterative Poems" S.T.S. 1897; Dunbar's "Kynd Kittok" S.T.S. ed. II, 52; Henryson's "Sum Practysis of Medecyne", S.T.S. III, 149; "Christis Kirk on the Green" Maitland Folio MS, S.T.S. I, 149, no. XLIII.

(6) T.F.Henderson thinks that some at least may be borrowed from France. He cites the bob and wheel of "Sir Tristrem" but this is probably an English poem; see "Scottish Vernacular Literature" pp 29-31.

"Rime couée"or "tail rhyme" came originally from France, but reached Scotland through England. The earliest type of French and Provençal "Rime couée" had its main lines half the length of its tail lines, for example:

"Tot a estru,
vei, Marcabru,
que comjat voletz demandar.
Del mar partir
non ai cossir,
tan sabetz mesura esguardar,"(1)

This could be printed as a four lined stanza with internal rhymes, and the ballad stanza with internal rhymes could be considered as a variety of it. Such forms and their variants are very common in Scots,(2) but are not found so frequently in English.(3) In France, the form survived the period of the troubadours, and was still used in the

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(1) A.Jeanroy: "Origines"; Audrie à Marcabrun, p 365.

(2) eg. Bannatyne MS CCCXVIII and CCCLVIII, where the four lines ($\widehat{aa}_4 b_3 \widehat{cc}_4 b_3$) can be scanned as $a_2 a_2 b_3 c_2 c_2 b_3$; Bannatyne VIII, Maitland Folio MS CXXIX and XXV, are printed as $\widehat{aa}_4 b_3 \widehat{aa}_4 b_3$ but could be scanned as $a_2 a_2 b_3 a_2 a_2 b_3$

(3) J.Schipper: "A History of English Versification", p 299.

fifteenth century. It is the metre of "The Nutbrowne Maid"[1] and is used by Dunbar.[2]

The commonest type of "rime couée" with the tail lines shorter than the main lines, was used everywhere, so that we have, as the royal "prentise" remarks: "all kyndis of cuttit and brokin verse, quhairof new formes are daylie inuentit according to the Poëtes plesour"....[3]

Another type of Troubadour strophe comes from the Latin trochaic tetrametre, and has two alternating rhymes throughout a stanza of eight lines.[4] This leads on to the ballade stanzas of the fourteenth century. The ancient "Kyrielle" used by Dunbar might also be considered as a primitive ballade stanza.[5] It was developed from the tropes of the "Kyrie" in the church service:

"Qui voudra sçavoir la pratique
De cette rime juridique
Je dis que bien mis en effet
La Kyrielle ainsi se fait."[6]

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(1) in many collections, eg. "The Oxford Book of English verse", p 39.

(2) "Thir Ladyis fair, that makis repair" S.T.S. ed. II,168.

(3) James VI: "Reulis and Cautelis" sig.N,,in "The Essayes of a Prentise, in the Divine Art of Poesie", ed. R.P.Gillies, Ed. 1814.

(4) A.Jeanroy: "Origines" p 377.

(5) see O.Ritter: "Die Geschichte der französischen Balladenformen" (Halle, 1914) p 9. Dunbar uses it in "The Lament for the Makaris", S.T.S. ed. II, 48.

(6) Quoted in the S.T.S. ed. of Dunbar, I,pCLXXXV,

Besides his famous "Lament for the Makaris", Dunbar has twelve other examples of it. It does not occur in the Bannatyne and Maitland MSS, but is found, again with a refrain, in "The Gude and Godlie Ballatis".(1) Short, four-lined stanzas, with crossed rhymes, are commoner in Scots than in French. The French poets liked more complex forms, and seldom used a refrain in such short strophes.(2)

Before going on to the ballade stanzas, we must mention the French "motets". These are short lyrical pieces which come under no rule but that of their musical setting. Most of them are not strophic. There is no parallel in Scots to this free rhyming lyric. If there once was, the Reformation is probably responsible for its loss. In French, some of the "motets" have refrains; most of them are "chansons d'amour" and there are some "reverdies" and "pastourelles". They are full of poetical common-places, but are often very charming.(3)

The literary ballade is a development from the old dance songs, and was formed under the influence of the all important refrain. In Provence the artistic, not folk,

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(1) ed. A.F.Mitchell, S.T.S. (1897), p 170.
The kyrielle is used by Martin le Franc and Christine de Pisan, both fifteenth century writers. See H. Chatelain: "Recherches sur le vers français au XVième siècle" (sic. a misprint for XIVième) Paris 1906 p. 88.

(2) H.Chatelain, op. cit. pp 88-89.

(3) see G.Raynaud: "Recueil de Motets français des XIIième et XIIIième siècles" etc. (Paris, 1881). Some are included in C.Bartsch's "Romanzen und Pastourellen" (Leipzig, 1870)

dance songs were at first called "balades"; in North France, "balletes." The "Puys," or literary circles, encouraged the development of the form, and the president or "Prince" of these societies is customarily addressed in the envoy, the latest addition to the form of the ballade. "The ballade took roughly four centuries to develop from an indeterminate dance song to a fixed verse form."(1) It was complete by the fourteenth century. As there was no "Puy" in Scotland, there was no formal envoy to the Scottish ballade.

Ballade stanzas in France vary in length from five to twelve or more lines, though eight and ten are the usual numbers. The lines are usually, but not always, of equal length, and the number of different rhymes is restricted to two or to three.

The five lined ballade stanza is a great favourite with Dunbar. In the form aabaB$_4$ he uses it no less than nineteen times, once with internal rhymes. It is also much used by Scott, Maitland, Clapperton, etc.(2)

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(1) H.L.Cohen: "Lyric Forms from France, their history and their use" (New York, 1922) pp 6-13.

(2) "Poems of Alexander Scott" ed J.Cranstoun, S.T.S.(1896) nos. V, IX, and XXXIII.
Maitland uses it as a kind of tail rhyme; Maitland Folio MS, CIX, a$_4$ a$_4$ b$_2$ a$_4$ b$_2$
Clapperton uses it in tetrameter in "Wa worth Maryage" Maitland Folio MS, LXXIX.

Molinet uses the same form in a decasyllabic ballade,[1] but this arrangement of the rhymes is not the usual one in French. The five liner arranged as abaab is far more common, and is employed by Molinet, Gréban, Coquillart, etc.[2] It is not used by Dunbar, but Maitland has it once.[3] Dunbar uses another arrangement, aabba[4] which is given as an example of the five liner in an anonymous "L'art de rhetorique pour rimer en plusieurs sortes de rimes";

"Je suis de cinq piez
Aïnsi enlassez;
Cincquain m'appell'on;
En dit de chançon
Suis souvent logez."[5]

This is what Guest calls the "roundel stave" since it forms part of the French roundel.[6] It is used by the fourteenth

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(1) H.Chatelain, op. cit. pp 129-130

(2) ibid. p 130

(3) Maitland Folio XXVIII.

(4) Dunbar uses this form nine times. See S.T.S. ed.vol.I, appendix III.

(5) in "Anciennes Poésies françaises des XVième et XVIième siècles," ed. A.de Montaiglon, vol. III, p 118; the lines quoted are on p 121.

(6) and Schipper calls it a variety of "rime couée"; see S.T.S. ed of Dunbar,vol.I, app.III, pp CLXXIX-CLXXX. The appendix on Dunbar's metres is by G.P.McNeill.

century poets Froissart and Deschamps, and by Chartier,[1] and seems to be an older type than the other arrangement which was to become so popular with the Rhétoriqueurs. Probably Dunbar found this arrangement of the five liner in French, used it, and made from it his own favourite form with refrain, (aabaB) without again seeking a model in France.[2]

A few other arrangements of five-lined stanzas are found, but these are rare. The popularity of the stave, in spite of its variations, must surely have come from French example.

Six-lined stanzas are fairly frequent in Scots,[3] and are found in the fourteenth more than in the fifteenth century French ballade.[4] They seem to have been as easy to invent as to borrow.

Chaucer was certainly responsible for the popularity of the beautiful seven-lined"Troilus Stanza"or "Rhyme Royal" used by JamesI, Henryson, Dunbar and most other "Makaris".

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(1) H.Chatelain, op. cit. ppl29-130

(2) G.P.McNeil, in the S.T.S. Dunbar, vol.I, p CLXXXVI.

(3) Dunbar's "Petition of the Gray Horse", II 215; and "Now culit is dame Venus brand", II 179, in the form aaabBB; Douglas' Prologue to the 9th Book, in Small's ed. vol III, p 205,— ababba; it is also used by Alexander Scott and Maitland.

(4) H.Chatelain, op. cit. p 168, and O.Ritter, op. cit. pp 11, 12, 23,71-74, 81 and 152.

It was equally popular in France and was used by Machault, Froissart, Deschamps, and others.(1) Maitland has a seven-lined stanza which is almost the same as some variants used by Christine de Pisan.(2)

The typical ballade stanza of eight lines is exceedingly common. The oldest and simplest form used by the Troubadours (abababab) is exemplified in the old "cantus" on the death of Alexander III, quoted by Wyntoun,(3) and it is useed by Henryson in"Robene and Makyne" and in "The Bludy Serk".(4) It was neglected in fifteenth century French when Gréban had set the fashion for octaves with dissimilar quatrains.(5) The later standard ballade octave (ababbcbC) is so commonly used both in English and Scots that it calls for no particular remark. It is employed both with and without the refrain, and in Scots, the ballade is not confined, as in French, to three stanzas; while envoys are very rare, and never correct according to the French rules.(6)

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(1) O.Ritter, op. cit. pp 92, 106 and 117, respectively.

(2) Maitland Folio MS, XCIX, aabbcbc.
O.Ritter, op. cit. p 169.

(3) "The Original Chronicle of Andrew of Wyntoun" ed. F.J.Amours, S.T.S. 1914, book VII lines 3621 ff v. v pp.144-145 quoted on p. 7 supra.

(4) S.T.S. ed. III, 89 and 95.

(5) H.Chatelain, op. cit. p 105.

(6) The French rule that the number of syllables in the line should correspond to the number of lines, was not followed.

The nine-lined strophe used by Dunbar in "The Goldyn Targe",[1] by Douglas in "The Palice of Honour"[2] and by Henryson in Cresseid's Complaint,[3] is borrowed from Chaucer, who had used it in "Annelida and Arcite". It is arranged with only two rhymes, and calls for considerable metrical ingenuity. (aabaabbab) We find it again in the Maitland and Bannatyne MSS.[4] It is not a French form, or at least, it must be very rare in France.

Another nine lined stanza (aabaabbcc) is an extension of the Rhyme Royal, and is used by Douglas in his "Ballet of Inconstant Love" in The Palice of Honour".[5] He no doubt copied it from French, since it is used by Machault, Chartier and Gringore.[6] There are a few other Scottish arrangements of the nine lined stanza,[7] that of "The Murning Maiden"[8] is found in Charles d'Orléans.[9]

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(1) S.T.S. ed. II, 1; App. III, vol. I, P CLXXXIII.

(2) Small's ed. I, 1 ff.

(3) S.T.S. ed. III, 17 ff.

(4) Maitland Folio MS XIV; Bann. MS IV, I etc. It is not used by Alexander Scott.

(5) Small's ed. I, 24.

(6) O.Ritter, op. cit. pp 95 and 171-172; Gringore: "La Chasse du Cerf des Cerfs" ed. C.d'Héricault and A. de Montaiglon (Paris 1878) I, 157.

(7) They do not correspond to the commonest French arrangements, which are ababccdcD, ababbcdcD, and ababbccdD. See Ritter, p 192.

(8) Maitland Folio MS CXXX. (9) Ritter, p 178, Cd'Orléans ed. Champion- Figéac (Paris, 1842) nos 50, 59, 60, 67.

Longer stanzas, built up after the style of the ballade strophe, are found in Scots, but offer no points of particular interest.

We have a curious collection of envoys in J.Cranstoun's "Satirical Poems of the Time of the Reformation".(1) These are sixteenth century pieces, for the most part quite devoid of the least literary merit. Their so-called envoys would never have been recognised as such by the French masters of the formal ballade. "The Regentis Tragedie ending with an exhortation"(2) by Robert Sempill, has its "Lenvoy" six stanzas long, in the form: $\widehat{aa}_4\ b_3\ \widehat{cc}_4\ b_3\ \widehat{dd}_4\ b_3\ \widehat{ee}_4\ b_3$ where internal rhyme has played havoc with the rhyme scheme of a ballade octave in the old style. "The Poysonyt Schot"(3) in decasyllabic ballade octaves, has a "Lenvoye" to the "bonny bill" in four stanzas of $a_3\ b_3\ a_3\ b_3\ \widehat{cc}_4\ b_3\ \widehat{dd}_4\ b_3$. "The Bird in the Cage",(4) a poem in Rhyme Royal, has a "Lenvoy" of five stanzas in the same metre as that of "The Regentis Tragedie." Sempill's "The Sege of the Castel

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(1) S.T.S., 1891

(2) Vol. I, p 100, envoy on p 105

(3) " I p 132 " p 137

(4) " I p 160 " p 163

of Edinburgh" has both "The Lenvoy to the Regent" and "Lanvoy to the Ambassade."(1) "The Legend of the Bischop of St Androis Lyfe",(2) also by Sempill, has "A Lenvoy" of one stanza. Montgomerie, writing about the same time, has a few similarly informal envoys.(3) In their subject matter, addresses to the poem or to its patron, they derive from the French practice, though they do not adhere to the form of the French envoy.

The late appearance of the envoy in Scots(4) shows that the school of the Grands Rhétoriqueurs was making its influence directly felt, wheras the earlier school of Machault had influenced Scots mainly through England. The careless way in which the Scottish writers used the envoy, caring nothing for its correct form, but using it to suit their own purposes, is typical of Scottish literary borrowing. Sempill likes his envoys to be in a different, and more elaborate form than the rest of his poem. He embellishes them with internal rhymes and uses them as a sting

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(1) "Satirical Poems" vol. II, pp 262, 271, and 272.

(2) Vol. II, pp 346 and 352. Sempill died in 1595.

(3) "Miscellaneous Poems" 7, 22, 29, and sonnet 53, (Ed. J.Cranstoun, S.T.S. 1887) according to R.Brotanek, in "Untersuchungen über das Leben und Dichtungen Alexander Montgomeries" (Vienna and Leipzig, 1896.)

(4) Dunbar wrote an envoy to"The Goldyn Targe" (the last stanza,-it is not called an envoy) clearly in imitation of Chaucer. S.T.S. ed. II, 10.

in the tail of his satire, not at all as the humble, flattering apology for what had gone before.

We have two examples of the other French form which enjoyed such popularity at the same time as the ballade. This is the rondeau. Twice a triolet, a kind of rondeau, is worked into Dunbar's "Dregy" with his usual almost insolent mastery of metrical form:

"Tak consolatioun in ȝour pane,
In tribulatioun tak consolatioun,
Out of vexatioun cum hame agane,
Tak consolatioun in ȝour pane."

and:

"God and Sanct Jeill heir ȝow convoy
Baith sone and weill, God and Sanct Jeill
To sonce and seill, solace and joy,
God and Sanct Geill heir ȝow convoy... "(1)

Has a triolet ever been used with a more delightful effect? The humorous cadence of its chimes is utterly different from the rather tiresome, though sometimes charming reiterations(2) of the French poets.

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(1) S.T.S. ed. II, 112.

(2) Georges Chastellain introduces a rondeau into his mystery "La Mort du Duc Philippe", simply to heighten the effect. (ed. Baron Kervyn de Lettenhove, Brussels 1865, VII, 267)

The first five stanzas of Montgomerie's "Flyting" with Polwart" could be analysed each as a triolet:

"Polwart ȝe peip like a mouse amongest thornes,
Na cunning ȝe keip; Polwart ȝe peip,
ȝe luik lyk a sheipe and ȝe had two hornes:
Polwart, ȝe peip like a mous amongest thornes." (1)

The stanzas should be printed in eight lines to make the form clear.

The fifteenth and early sixteenth century Grands Rhétoriqueurs, Georges Chastellain (1404 or 1405 - 1475), Octavien de Saint Gelais (1466-1502), Jean Molinet(1435-1507), Jean le Maire de Belges (1473 to between 1514 and 1528), Guillaume Cretin (died 1525), André de la Vigne (died 1515), etc. (2) continued the practice of writing innumerable ballades and rondeaux, often as garnishings to their long allegories in prose and verse, works which generally contained many different metres. In order to introduce a little novelty into the stereotyped forms of the ballade, they introduced as ornamentation various different types of internal rhyme, and enriched the rhyme

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(1) supplementary volume, ed. G.Stevenson, S.T.S. 1910 p 131, (Harleian text), in the last two stanzas of this part, further internal rhymes are added.

(2) Much the best account of this school is by H.Guy, in "Histoire ~~poétique~~ de la Poésie française au XVIième siècle. Tome I: L'Ecole des Rhétoriqueurs." Paris, 1910.

itself.[1] These artificial graces found a place in all their work, whatever its subject or mood. What the wit of the writer could invent, the taste of the writer did not attempt to control.

This fashion was not without its effect in Scotland. The enrichment of the rhyme was not copied, but the multiplication of it made a strong appeal to Scottish poets.

Dunbar wrote too early to experience the strongest influence of the Rhétoriqueurs, and he was too original a poet and too great a metrist to be completely mastered by it. His "Hail sterne supern"[2] reminds one of the rhetorical school, but it preserves the lyrical quality of the Latin hymns, which the French Rhétoriqueurs conspicuously lacked.[3] His "Roiss Mary most of vertew virginal"[4] approaches, but not very closely, the style of Chastellain's "Louenge a la Très-Glorieuse Vièrge."[5] On the whole, his courtly verse is more like the earlier school of Machault; and in his few formal love poems we are reminded of the

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(1) as an example, Guy quotes the following "rimes équivoques (p 85):

"Lors que Cayn occist son frère Abel,
Dieu s'en coursa; le jeu ne print a bel,
Et n'est requis que quelque pastour rie,
Quant luy souvient de ceste pastourie." !

(2) S.T.S. ed. II, 269.

(3) F.T.Henderson, "Scottish Vernacular Literature" on Dunbar's metres, p 161 ff, and the app. III in S.T.S. ed. vol. I.

(4) S.T.S. ed. II, 272. (5) ed. K.de Lettenhove, VIII, 269.

manner of Charles d'Orleans. His refrains are quite in the style of Deschamps and Christine de Pisan.

Douglas shows more clearly the influence of the later school, not only in his extremely aureate diction, but once at least in his rhyme schemes,[1] for he has discovered the fashion of "rimes batellées" so beloved by Saint Gelais. In the Prologue to Book IX of the "Aeneid" Douglas writes:

"Thir lusty warkis of hie nobilitie
Agilyte did wryte of worthy clerkis,
And tharin merkis wisdome, vtilitie,
Na vilite, nor sic onthryfty sparkis:
Scurrilite is bot for doggis at barkis,
Quha tharto harkis fallis in fragilite".....[2]

Lindsay's interest lay more in his subject than in the form of his verse. His favourite stanzas are the Rhyme Royal,[3] the ballade octave[4] and the nine-lined strophe, either rhymed as in Dunbar's "Goldyn Targe"[5] or with a final couplet on a third rhyme.[6] Only at the end of his "Exhortation to the Kyngis Grace" does he indulge in a flourish

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(1) see P.Lange: "Chaucers Einfluss auf.....Douglas" Anglia VI p 90 (Halle 1883)

(2) Small's ed. III, 205.

(3) "The Dreme" I, 3; "The Complaynt of the Papyngo" I, 58; "Answer to the King's Flyting" I, p101. S.T.S. ed.

(4) "Complaynt of Bagsche" etc. I, p91. (5) "The Dreme" I, p35

(6) Introductory stanzas to the "Complaynt of the Papyngo"/

of internal rhymes, with curious effect:

"And so for conclusioun,
Mak our provisioun,
To get the infusioun
Of His hie grace:
Quhilk bled, with effusioun,
With scorne and derisioun,
And deit, with confusioun
Confirmand our peace. Amen." (1)

I call these internal rhymes, because, considering the fashions of Lindsay's day, and the solemnity of the subject, it seems more likely that the piece should be printed in four lines as a specimen of the Rhétoriqueurs' "rime batellée" or "renforcée" than that Lindsay meant it for the old tail rhyme.

In Alexander Scott we find a stanza printed in four lines which, as it is simple and lyrical, should probably be printed as "rime couée":

(cont.) vol. I p 55; "Epistil" before "Experience and ane Courteour" I, 197. This is the form used by Machault and Chartier; see Ritter, op. cit. pp 95 and 171.

(1) at the end of "The Dreme" S.T.S. ed. I, 38.

"Favour is fair in luvis lair,
Zit friendschip mair bene to comend;
Bot quhair despair bene adwersare,
Nothing is thair bot wofull end;" (1)

Scott uses many forms of tail rhyme, but does not care for the long lined ballade stanzas with their stiff, formal effect. His technique is lyrical; he seems to work by ear rather than by rule. There is nothing whatever of the Grand Rhétoriqueur about him.

Montgomerie should really lie outside the scope of this study, but there are such clear traces of French influence in his work, (2) that it seems a pity not at least to refer to him.

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(1) ed. J.Cranstoun, S.T.S. nd. XXIV p. 64. (1896)

(2) ed. J.Cranstoun, S.T.S., 1887, with a supplementary volume ed. G.Stevenson, 1910.
G.Gregory Smith thinks this was the period when French influence on Scottish literature was at its strongest::"Till recently, the opinion was generally held that the greater part of the foreign matter embedded in the verse of Drummond and his circle had come into Scots through English channels, and chiefly through Spenser and Sidney..... But now we have learned that the Pléiade exerted a strong and direct influence on the poets of that age, and claims as much as the English or Italian models. Drummond transfers gaily not only from Ronsard and Du Bellay, but from Desportes, in the "Diane" and from minors such as Pontus de Tyard, in the "Erreurs Amoureuses" and Jean Passerat; and Sir William Alexander is part Ronsard and part Du Bellay." ("Scottish Literature, Character and Influence" pp99-100, London 1919.) He might have added that Montgomerie borrows both from Ronsard and from Clément Marot;/

The influence of the Pléiade was now making itself felt in Scotland; James VI himself translated from Du Bartas,[1] and Montgomerie borrowed freely from the poets of the French Renaissance. The influence of the new style need not concern us; Montgomerie also experimented with the ornaments of the Grands Rhétoriqueurs.[2]

Their "Rime renforcée" is simply what we are accustomed to call internal rhyme.[3] "Rime batellée" is more complicated. Jean Molinet explains it as follows:

(cont.) that he translated seven of Ronsard's sonnets, and is one of the first British writers to use Ronsard's Italian sonnet form. (O.Hoffmann: "Studien zu Alexander Montgomerie" in "Englischen Studien" vol. XX, Leipzig, 1895, pp38 ff.)

(1) He translated the "Uranie, ou Muse Celeste". See D.Irving, "Lives if the Scotish (sic) Poets" (Ed., 1804, p 279. The translation is printed in "Essayes of a Prentise" (Ed. 1814) sig. Di. The French original is given on p 5.

(2) see L.Borland: "Montgomerie and the French Poets of the Early sixteenth century" in "Modern Philology" XI pp. 127-134, (Chicago 1913-1914)

(3) eg. in Montgomerie's "Melancholie, grit deput of Dispair" S.T.S. ed. 1887, p 171.

"En pareille forme de vers huitains se fait rhétorique batellée, et est dite batelée pour ce que, avec ce qu'elle a sa volée de resonance en la finale sillabe, comme dessus, elle a un autre son et reson a la iiij^{e} sillabe, a maniere de batellage. De ceste nouvelle mode sont coulourez la Complainte de Grace, le Throne d'honneur, le Temple de Mars" etc. etc. (1)

Montgomerie experiments with this:

Stay, passinger, thy mynd, thy futt, thy ee:
Vouchsaif, a we, his epitaph to vieu,
Quha left but feu behind him, sic as he;
Syn leirnd to de, to live agane aneu" etc (2)

The caesura rhymes vary a little. I have divided the lines in order to make the form clear. In "The Poet's Legacy" (3)

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(1) "L'Art de rhétorique" written between 1477 and 1492. In "Recueil d'arts de seconde rhétorique" ed. E.Langlois Paris 1902, p 214. The examples given are Molinet's own poems.

(2) "Epitaph of the Maister of Work, Drummond of Carnok", S.T.S. 1887, p 221. This poem is also an Elizabethan sonnet and an example of French "linked quatrains". The whole rhyme scheme is:

Caesura rhymes } a b a | b b c b | c c d c |
End rhymes } a b a b | b c b c | c d c d | ee

(3) S.T.S. 1887, p 170

the device is used in the orthodox ballade octave, and the triolets at the beginning of the "Flyting"[1] have the very same rhyme scheme.

Miss Borland finds an example of "rime brisée" in "When ȝe were plesit"[2] but it does not accord with the scheme for "vers brisiez" given by Molinet.[3] "Rime enchainée", another very favourite French device is used in the "Sonnet to James Lauder"[4] and in the "Sonnet to Issobel Yong";[5] for example, the former begins:

"I wald se mare nor ony thing I sie;
I sie not ȝit the thing that I desyre:
Desyre it is that does content the ee;
The ee it is vhilk settis the hairt in fyre".....

The correct French manner was to repeat only part of the word:

"Trop durement mon cueur souspire,
Pire mal sent que deconfort;
Confort le fait, plus na riens fort,
Fort se plaint, ne scet qu'il doit dire".....[6]

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(1) Montgomerie, S.T.S. 1887 p 59 (2) ibid. p 279.

(3) Jean Molinet, op, cit. ed. Langlois, p 219. The verse qoted from Scott, p.289, conforms to Molinet's pattern: a͡a a͡b a͡a a͡b.

(4) Montgomerie S.T.S. 1887 p 109. (5) ibid. p 110.

(6) Molinet, op. cit. p 224.

Montgomerie even tried that most tiresome rhetorical trick, "rime en echo" or "rhetorique a double queue"(1) along with the ornament of "rime equivoque" not elsewhere attempted in Scotland, though very popular in France:

"Quhat lovers, Echo, maks sic querimony? Mony.
Quhat kynd of fyre doth kindle thair curage? Rage.
Quhat medicine, (O Echo! knouis thou ony?) Ony?
Is best to stay this Love of his passage? Age."(2)

It is kept up for four more lines. In the "Chasse et le Depart d'Amours", wrongly attributed to Saint Gelais, "rime equivoque" is actually used both in the middle and at the end of the lines:

"Infame/ femme/ mise en obscure/ cure
Amere/ mere/ morose en morsure/ sure
Dolente/ lente: et esperdeue/ deue
Patente/ tente: gectant verdure/ dure." etc.(3)

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(1) Molinet, op. cit. p 225.

(2) Montgomerie, p 139, "Echo", the last stanza. There is a good example of "rimes equivoques" by Guillaume Alexis, "L'A, B, C des Doubles", about mid-fifteenth century, ed. A.Piaget and E.Picot, Paris 1896-1908, p 1. In D.Irving's ed. of Montgomerie, (Ed. 1821) an Italian echo poem is cited. Hume of Godscroft and Captain William Mercer also wrote in this style.(Irving, p XXI) It will be remembered that Swift, long after, produced an echo poem.

(3) Printed by A.Verard, Paris 1509, sig. Diii verso. See H.Guy, op. cit. I.pl35.

The subject, though the passage is almost incomprehensible, is a complaint to the Queen of Love.

"Rime senée" in which all the words in each line begin with the same letter, is common enough.(1) It is merely a glorified alliteration. The obvious device of beginning each line of the stanza with the same word, is found in some of the stanzas of the "Commendatione of Love",(2) "Aganis Love",(3) "In Prais of his Maistres",(4) and in "The Elegy."(5) This is an old ornament, and the prize for its use must go to Christine de Pisan.(6) Montgomerie sometimes combines his schemes of decoration, as Miss Borland points out,(7) and his use of the old rhetorical forms in the frame of the Renaissance sonnet, is curious and interesting. With him we have reached the end of the influence of the Grands Rhétoriqueurs, the last of the French Mediaevalists, and already the new age had brought about the greatest changes which literature had known for many centuries.

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(1) L.Borland, op. cit. p 133.

(2) Montgomerie, S.T.S. 1887, p 145. (3) ibid. p 147

(4) ibid. p 185 (5) ibid. p 202.

(6) eg. number XI of her "Cent Ballades" where every line except the first of the envoy begins with the word "seulete". Ed. M.Roy, S.A.T.F., Paris, 1886, vol.I, p 12 Douglas uses this ornament; vol. I, pp 1, 3, 17, etc.

(7) L.Borland, op. cit. pp 233-234. Montgomerie: "He Prayis to his Maistres for Pitie", p 197; " Flyting", p 59; "Redolent Rois" sup. vol. p. 208; "I Hoipe to Serve" sup. vol. , p 217.

C O N C L U S I O N.

We have now made a survey of Scottish literature throughout the Middle Ages, bringing together the work of the editors of the Middle Scots texts, and of the scholars who have written on various parts of the subject. At the same time we have tried to indicate, more roughly, the course of the contemporary literature in France. We find that Scotland, like England, looked to France as the chief source of literary culture. The imitation was not always direct; England, and especially Chaucer, made a bridge between France and the North. Political circumstances tended to increase the direct influence, which culminated in the reign of James V and the regency of Mary of Guise - in Lindsay and "The Complaynt of Scotlande". Yet there is no intrinsic bond between the two literatures. Scottish authors borrowed their materials and forms from France, but they were never very deeply influenced by the spirit of French courtly poetry, nor by that subtler essence defying analysis, the "esprit gauloise". Scotland is in the position of a pupil, but of a fairly independent pupil. No French writer ever inspired the admiration and reverence which the Makars accorded to Chaucer.

The connection with France enabled the Scottish poets to be more independent of English influence and to take their

place in European culture, as James IV enabled his country to do politically. This place they held till the end of the Middle Scots period.

We can look back on the Scottish Middle Ages as a literary period in many ways imitative, yet fully alive, and richly representative of mediaeval culture; as a period characteristically Scottish in spite of its literary borrowings, and worthy of the nation to whose life it gave expression.

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